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THE
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RESEARCHES

INTO

THE ORIGIN AND AFFINITY

OF

THE PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES

OF

ASIA AND EUROPE.

142806

BY

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OF THE BOMBAY MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

9.6.2

Cum remotæ Gentium Origines historiam transcendant, Linguæ nobis præstant veterum monumentorum vicem. *Leibnitii Opera*, tom. iv. p. 186.

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1828.

Un Homme de Lettres, célèbre, grand ennemi des Etymologies, a dit qu'il falloit être sans raison pour douter que *pain* vînt de *panis :* mais si cette Etymologie n'est point trompeuse, l'Art Etymologique n'est point trompeur, puisque toutes les Etymologies qui le composent et que nous donnerons, seront aussi sûres que celle-là ; qu'elles ne consisteront également que dans des comparaisons de mots, où il seroit aussi impossible de voir ce qu'on y voudroit voir, que de ne pas y voir ce qui y est.

Monde Primitif, tom. iii. p. 35.

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PREFACE.

It is much to be regretted that all writers who have entered into etymological discussions, or who have employed etymology as the medium of other researches, should have permitted their judgments to be guided and influenced by some favourite hypothesis. For, however anxious an author may be to discover truth, still, if his mind be occupied by preconceived opinions, it is impossible for him to avoid giving more attention and more force to such circumstances as support these opinions, than to such as oppose them. Too many writers, also, in conducting an argument respecting the origin and affinity of nations, or even respecting their idolatry, have indulged in such absurdity of etymologies, and such mis-selection and perversion of authorities, as must render their love of truth extremely questionable. The ridicule, therefore, that is thrown on etymology, and the distrust with which it is received as proof, are the natural consequences of its having been employed so improperly. But, as it is illogical to argue from the abuse to the use, no work ought to be condemned on mere inspection of its titlepage, because erroneous methods have been adopted in the previous discussion of the same subject.

The following Researches, also, whatever other defects may be attributable to them, are at least free from the spirit of hypothesis.

For, having occasion to compile a Maratha dictionary, I amused myself, while collecting materials for that work, in noting down the Sanscrit words which I recognised as belonging to any language with which I was acquainted; and it was not until I had collected five hundred such words, that I began to enquire into the causes which could have introduced them into five distinct languages. Until then I had acquiesced in the correctness of the usual opinions entertained respecting the origin and affinity of languages, although doubts of their justness had often occurred to me. But, on further examining the subject, I found that none of the systems which had been proposed could adequately explain the causes of that intimate connection which must have existed, at some remote period, between a people speaking Sanscrit and the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, and Goths. It was, therefore, necessary to discover some more probable and satisfactory explanation of so remarkable a circumstance, and I accordingly stated the conclusions to which its investigation had led me, in a paper which I laid before the Literary Society of Bombay, in November, 1822. This paper, however, I afterwards withdrew, as it occurred to me that neither its limits allowed the subject to be fully discussed, nor had I myself obtained all the information respecting it which was requisite. For I conceive it incumbent on every writer to ascertain, as far as possible, what may have been previously published on the topic which he intends to discuss. But the want of books prevented me, for some time, from having it in my power to enlarge and improve the paper just mentioned in the manner that I wished. Having at length, however, made myself, I believe, sufficiently acquainted with the principal opinions which prevail respecting the origin and affinity of languages, I now venture to lay the following Researches before the public.

The original object of this work was merely to exhibit the remarkable affinity which exists between the Greek, Latin, Persian, Gothic, and Sanscrit languages, and to explain the causes which had, in my opinion, produced it. But, on further consideration, it appeared to me that neither of these points could be satisfactorily demonstrated, until the prevailing hypothesis respecting the existence of a primitive tongue, and respecting the origin of the Greeks, Romans, and Goths, had been first examined and refuted. I have, in consequence, been obliged not only to enter into a review of these subjects on which so much has been already written, but, also, in considering them, to differ in opinion, less or more, from every author by whom they have been previously discussed. But no person has hitherto applied a competent knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit to etymological purposes, and from *new* data, therefore, it may be permitted to draw *new* conclusions.

One writer, indeed, Dr. A. Murray, in his *History of European Languages*, has pretended to an acquaintance with Sanscrit and Persian; but the very erroneous judgment of the origin and nature of these languages which he has expressed, evinces that his knowledge of them must have been extremely superficial. He has himself, at the same time, admitted that *he had not the Sanscrit language completely before him**; nor was it possible that he could, as no Sanscrit dictionary was then published. But Persian was perfectly accessible in grammars, dictionaries, and editions of works containing together the original text and its translation; and the ignorance, therefore, of this language betrayed by Dr. Murray is altogether inexcusable. It is not, however, so much the errors contained in this work, as the dogmatic tone in which the opinions are expressed, that are

* Hist. of European Languages, vol. ii. p. 381.

particularly censurable. For nothing but the most indisputable proofs could warrant such positive assertions as these: — "The Medes, Persians, and Indians spoke the same language. They were allied to one another in the degree of the Ionic and Doric Greeks. This important fact is established, 1. by the close resemblance of the ancient Median names to the Sanscrit in form and sense; 2. by the perfect coincidence of the remains of the Zend with the Sanscrit; 3. by the easy derivation of almost every modern Persian word (the Arabic terms excepted) from the Sanscrit.*.... The modern Persic is Sanscrit, humbled and corrupted in a high degree. It is simple, elegant, perspicuous; but, at the same time, not capable of greater powers of expression, than those which genius may impart to any dialect, however defective by nature.†.... Ocular inspection, assisted by such knowledge as the comparison requires, demonstrates the ancient identity of the Sanscrit and Chaldee letters."‡ That is, an alphabet composed of fifty-two letters was derived from one consisting of twenty-two letters only! The reputation acquired by Dr. Murray as a philologist has induced me to notice his work here, in order to explain the reason why I have scarcely ever quoted it in the following pages, either for the purpose of approbation or refutation. But for the first of these purposes it is much too erroneous; and, with regard to the latter, I perfectly agree in opinion with Pinkerton, that *to confute absolute nonsense is surely as ridiculous as to write it.* That the reader, however, may not consider these remarks as too harsh, I will leave it to him to decide whether that philologist is entitled to any attention who, in the very commencement of his work, makes such an assertion as this: — "By a careful study of the Anglo-Saxon,

* Hist. of European Languages, vol. ii. p. 222.

† Ibid. p. 391. ‡ Ibid. p. 227.

Visigothic, and the elder English writers, more knowledge may be obtained of the original structure of the Greek, Latin, Celtic, or Sanscrit, than the deepest erudition can possibly supply!!" *

With respect to the conclusions contained in this work, which are deduced from etymological premises, the principles on which they depend are sufficiently explained in the Second Part. I shall here, therefore, merely observe that, in comparing together the words of any two languages, I conceive that correspondence in signification and in sound, subject to such slight permutations in the letters and slight contractions of the syllables as are proved to be admissible on clear and fixed principles, are the only *criteria* by which the identity of the words compared can be determined. These RESEARCHES, therefore, differ materially from other etymological works: because they contain no wearisome discussions respecting the changes which words may have undergone in passing from one language into another; nor any tedious reasoning to prove that some particular word in one language, notwithstanding dissimilarity of sound and meaning, may still be identical with some other term of another language. For the Comparative Table inserted in Part II. is the *pièce justificative* of the whole work; and as all the words compared together in it correspond in meaning, except in a few instances which I have noted at the bottom of the page, the reader, if unacquainted with the languages compared, has merely to determine whether the agreement of the words in sound is sufficient to prove their identity. Should he, then, be convinced that 900 Sanscrit words have passed into five

* Hist. of European Languages, vol. i. p. 17.

No words can better characterise Dr. Murray's work, than those which he has himself applied to Mr. Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology: — "*A fanciful work, of which the etymological part is false, the historical dubious, and the theoretical imaginary.*"—Vol. ii. p. 223.

distinct languages, he will be the better enabled to form an opinion respecting the justness of the remarks contained in the following pages.

The origin and affinity of languages ascend far beyond the times of which any information has been preserved by ancient writers. But it seems undeniable that, with respect to the origin and early state of nations, the credibility of the accounts given by different authors must depend on their relative antiquity; and it is impossible to understand how Zonaras, in the twelfth century *after* Christ, could be as well acquainted with the ancient situation of the world as Herodotus, who flourished 450 years *before* Christ. The incorrectness, therefore, of the following remarks of Mr. Bryant must be self evident: —"It may be said that the writers to whom I chiefly appeal are, in great measure, dry and artless, without any grace and ornament to recommend them. They were, likewise, posterior to the Helladians; consequently, farther removed from the times of which they treat. To the first objection I answer, that the most dry and artless historians are, in general, the most authentic. They who colour and embellish have the least regard for the truth. In respect to priority, it is a specious claim; but attended with no validity. When a gradual darkness has been overspreading the world, it requires as much time to emerge from the cloud, as there passed when we were sinking into it: so that they who come later may enjoy a greater portion of light, than those who preceded them by ages. Besides, it is to be considered, that the writers to whom I chiefly appeal, lived in parts of the world which gave them great advantages. The whole theology of Greece was derived from the East. We cannot, therefore, but in reason suppose, that Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Tatianus of Assyria, Lucianus of Samosata, Cyril of Jerusalem, Porphyry of

Syria, Proclus of Lycia, Philo of Biblus, Strabo of Amasa, Pausanias of Cappadocia, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, must know more upon this subject than any native Helladian. The like may be said of Diodorus, Josephus, Cedrenus, Syncellus, Zonaras, Eustathius; and numberless more. These had the archives of ancient * temples, to which they could apply: and had traditions more genuine than ever reached Greece. And though they were posterior theirselves, they appeal to authors far prior to any Helladians: and their works are crowded with extracts from the most curious and the most ancient † histories. Such were the writings of Sanchoniathon, Berosus, Nicholaus Damascenus, Mocus, Mnaseas, Hieronymus Ægyptius, Apion, Manethon: from whom Abydenus, Apollodorus, Asclepiades, Artapanus, Philastrius, borrowed largely. We are beholden to Clemens ‡ and Eusebius, for many evidences from writers, long since lost; even Eustathius and Tzetzes have resources, which are now no more." § On the contrary, the justness of the following observations of Lord Bolingbroke can scarcely be contested: — "There is a fourth class, of much less use than these, but of much greater name. Men of the first rank in learning, and to whom the whole tribe of scholars bow with reverence. A man must be as indifferent as I am to common censure or approbation, to avow a thorough contempt for the whole business of these learned lives; for all the researches into antiquity, for all the systems of chronology and history, that we owe to the immense labours of a Scaliger, a Bochart, a Petavius, an Usher, and even a Marsham. The

"* See Philo Biblius apud Euseb. Præf. Evang. l. i. c. 10. p. 32. He mentions applying to a great number of authors, in Phenicia.

"† Πολλην εξερευνησαμενος ὑλην, ουχι την παρ' Ἑλλησι. — *Philo, apud Euseb. Præf. Evang.*, l. i. c. ix. p. 32.

"‡ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom., l. i. p. 356."

§ Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 146. et seq.

same materials are common to them all; but these materials are few, and there is a moral impossibility that they should ever have more. They have combined these into every form that can be given to them: they have supposed, they have guessed, they have joined disjointed passages of different authors, and broken traditions of uncertain originals, of various people, and of centuries remote from one another as well as from ours. In short, that they might leave no liberty untaken, even a wild fantastical similitude of sounds has served to prop up a system. As the materials they have are few, so are the very best and such as pass for authentic extremely precarious; as some of these learned persons themselves confess. Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the monk opened the principal sources of all this science; but they corrupted the waters. Their point of view was to make profane history and chronology agree with sacred; though the latter chronology is very far from being established with the clearness and certainty necessary to make it a rule. For this purpose, the ancient monuments that these writers conveyed to posterity, were digested by them according to the system they were to maintain: and none of these monuments were delivered down in their original form, and genuine purity. The dynasties of Manetho, for instance, are broken to pieces by Eusebius, and such fragments of them as suited his design are stuck into his work. We have, we know, no more of them. The Codex Alexandrinus we owe to George the monk. We have no other authority for it."*

It is not, however, necessary for the object of this work, to enter into any discussion respecting ancient chronology: for I conceive that the poems of Homer are a fixed point in the history of all languages cognate with the Greek; and, consequently, in tracing their

* Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History, p. 6. et seq.

affinity or the locality of the people who spoke them, it is not requisite to carry the research farther than two or three centuries beyond the time when Homer flourished. It is, also, precisely at this period that the traditional and historical notices preserved by ancient writers begin to assume a degree of credibility which entitles them to every attention. But in combining together these notices, and in drawing conclusions from them, I have confined myself to such as are contained in Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny; but the authors on which I have principally depended are Herodotus and Strabo. Both these authors, I observe, are held in little or no estimation by the writers whose hypotheses I am under the necessity of refuting: but, after a most attentive examination of the works of Herodotus and Strabo, I cannot understand on what grounds their authority can with any reason be questioned. At least before the accounts given by the most ancient historian now extant are thus disregarded, and those of such a writer as Justin received in preference, some sufficient cause ought to be assigned for adopting so singular a mode of weighing historical evidence. I presume, however, that the only solid grounds on which belief in human testimony can rest are the witness's discernment, judgment, and knowledge of the subject attested; and, as it cannot be denied that Strabo * and Herodotus possessed these qualifications in an eminent degree, it must necessarily follow that they are the safest guides for determining, as far as it was then known, the actual state of the world 500 years B. C., and its subsequent changes.

* Strabo flourished about A. D. 20; but the great attention and judgment with which he had consulted writers more ancient than himself, and had compared their accounts with what had actually come under his own observation, are evident in every page of his work.

I have thus endeavoured to conduct the etymological and historical discussions contained in these RESEARCHES on principles which appear to me to be incontrovertible: but I am well aware that the execution of a work is seldom, if ever, of equal excellence as the plan intended; and I cannot, therefore, flatter myself that I have been able to avoid altogether the faults which I have observed and condemned in others. If, however, my reasoning and conclusions meet not with approbation, it will, perhaps, be admitted that I have contributed considerably to the further improvement of philology, not only by the new data which I have produced, but by condensing into a small compass the various opinions hitherto published respecting the origin and affinity of languages. But should any person be inclined to apply to this work the severe rules of criticism which seem to prevail at this day, I beg that, before he proceeds to judgment and execution, he will consider whether these words of Plutarch do not apply equally to philological as to historical researches, and, if so, whether they do not present a sufficient excuse for any errors or defects that may be found in the following pages: —

Τῳ μεντοι συνταξιν ὑποβεβλημενῳ, και ἱστοριαν ἐξ ου προχειρων ουδ' οικειων, αλλα ξενων τε των πολλων και διεσπαρμενων εν ἑτεροις συνιουσαν αναγνωσματων, τῳ οντι χρη πρωτον ὑπαρχειν και μαλιστα την πολιν ευδοκιμον και φιλοκαλον και πολυανθρωπον, ὡς βιβλιων τε παντοδαπων αφθονιαν εχων, και ὁσα τους γραφοντας διαφευγοντα σωτηρια μνημης ἐπιφανεστεραν ειληφε πιστιν, ὑπολαμβανων ακοη και διαπυνθανομενος, μη πολλων μηδ' αναγκαιων ἐνδεες ἀποδιδοιη το ἐργον· ἡμεις δε μικραν οικουμεν πολιν.

BOMBAY,
15*th January*, 1827.

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PART I.

N.B. In Oriental words written in Roman characters, the vowels and diphthongs are to be pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as in English; with exception of *g*, which is always to be pronounced hard, its soft sound being represented by *j*.

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CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The result of all speculations respecting the origin of language must be unsatisfactory, because no data exist from which any reasonable conclusion on the subject can be deduced. For no tribe of men has yet been discovered, however few in numbers or rude and miserable, that did not possess a language adapted to all the purposes and wants of its mode of life. It might, hence, be conjectured that speech was one of the qualities which belonged to man from his original formation. But, when it is considered that children learn the use of alphabetical sounds with much difficulty, and that strangers can never acquire the proper pronunciation of a foreign language, it seems necessarily to follow that, although the power of forming articulate sounds is inherent in man, still the converting such sounds into an intelligible language depends entirely on association, imitation, and tuition.

Admitting, therefore, the Mosaic account of the creation of mankind, and supposing that the faculty and knowledge of speech were communicated to the first man and woman by the supreme Being,

nothing would seem more probable than the existence of a primitive language. Moses, also, relates that such actually prevailed during the earlier ages of the world, but he, at the same time, expressly declares that this uniformity of speech was destroyed by a miracle. If, consequently, the authority of Moses be admitted as proving the one point, it must be considered of equal validity with respect to the other; because no other works now exist with which the narration of Moses might be compared, and by means of which any errors that may have occurred in it might be corrected. The whole, therefore, of the Book of Genesis must be held to be authentic, or the whole must be rejected; and that argument can deserve no attention which rests on a partial admission and a partial rejection of the contents of this book.

But the following verses of the eleventh chapter of Genesis prove, beyond the power of controversy to dispute, that the primitive language of mankind was totally destroyed.

Verse 1. "And the whole earth was of one language and one speech."

V. 6. "And the Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language."

V. 7. "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."

V. 9. "Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth."

In the tenth chapter, also, of Genesis occur these verses; —

V. 5. "But these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations."

V. 20. "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries and in their nations."

V. 31. "These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations."*

* As there is not the slightest ambiguity in the original Hebrew, I cannot understand why the commentators on the Bible and other writers attempt to qualify or invalidate the positive testimony of these texts, and to retain the language of Adam and Eve in the family of Shem; for, though the language of mankind was confounded, it is not said that the

So far, therefore, as the authority of the Book of Genesis is admitted, it must, at the same time, be admitted that the primitive speech of mankind was abolished, and various distinct languages created by the same power by whom the former was originally communicated to mankind.

Of this opinion was Sir William Jones, who has observed, — "that the language of Noah is lost irretrievably;" yet he has endeavoured to establish "that the inhabitants of Asia, and, consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem." But in conducting this argument Sir William Jones has not been able to avoid inconsistency and self-contradiction. For in his fourth Anniversary Discourse he remarks, — "But a further comparison between the two languages (Sanscrit and Arabic) is here unnecessary; since in whatever light we view them, they seem totally distinct, and must have been invented by two different races of men." In the fifth Discourse — "If the ground work of the Western Turkish, when separated from the Persian and Arabic with which it is embellished, be a branch of the lost Oghuzian tongue, I can assert, with confidence, that it has not the least resemblance either to Arabic or Sanscrit, and must have been invented by a race of men wholly distinct from the Arabs or Hindus." In his sixth Discourse, — "But without having recourse to other arguments, the composition of words in which the genius of the Persian delights, and which that of the Arabic abhors, is a decisive proof that the Parsi sprang from an Indian and not an Arabic stock." It hence appears that the languages of the three branches of one stem, the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Tartar have not the slightest affinity to each other, and differ so much that they must have been invented by distinct races of men.

It is, therefore, impossible to reconcile Sir William Jones's conclusion with the premises from which it has been deduced; because, as he

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knowledge which men at the time possessed was in any manner affected, and, consequently, the effect of this miracle extended no further than the causing this knowledge to be handed down to posterity, not in one single language, but in a variety of different dialects.

is perfectly correct in asserting that no resemblance exists between these languages, it must be obvious that dissimilar effects could not proceed from one and the same cause. If the Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars spoke the same language three thousand years ago, as Sir William Jones supposes, their ancestors, when they migrated from their native country, must either have preserved their mother-tongue, or adopted that of the country into which they migrated. In the latter case, other languages, besides this supposed primitive one, must have been in existence; and it is directly contrary to the Mosaic history to imagine that the world remained without people and without languages until a migration took place from Iran in the twelfth century before the Christian æra. In the other case, it is impossible that any material difference could have arisen between the Sanscrit and the Arabic; for, there is every reason to believe, that the former was a written language at the time of this supposed migration, and it is incontestable that Arabia was never conquered or occupied by a foreign race within the last three thousand years. Had, therefore, the Arabs and Hindūs ever spoken the same tongue, no conceivable cause can be assigned for these two languages having become so radically dissimilar. They might have been considerably affected by the dialects of the countries into which these migrations are supposed to have proceeded, but they would have preserved the greatest part of the words of the parent language, and an indisputable resemblance in their grammatical structure.

Similar remarks apply to the influence over the languages of Asia and Europe which some writers ascribe to migrations of Scythians. The earliest existing accounts, at the same time, of this people describe them as rude and unlettered, living in various independent tribes, and not united into one nation, and perfectly unacquainted with the learning and arts of civilized society. For Herodotus characterises the Scythians as the most ignorant of men, and every subsequent description of them fully confirms this remark of Sir W. Jones. "Our first enquiry concerning the languages and letters of the Tartars presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and as

dreary as that of their own deserts. The Tartars in general had no literature; (in this point all authorities appear to concur), the Turcs had no letters; the Huns, according to Procopius, had not even heard of them." To derive, therefore, from the scanty and imperfect dialects of such a people the language of Homer or of the sacred books of the Hindus must be obviously so inconsistent with probability as to render the conjecture unworthy of the least credit.

If, however, no affinity exists between Arabic, Sanscrit, and Tartar, and if all existing languages bear less or more relation to one or other of these tongues,* the non-existence of a primitive language seems sufficiently established. But the apparent simplicity resulting from the derivation of all languages from one common origin, and particularly a mistaken opinion that the Mosaic account of the creation of mankind would receive confirmation from proving that this common origin was Hebrew, have led several writers into etymological researches, which, so far from producing conviction, have merely cast ridicule on the object of their studies. It cannot, however, be denied that cognate and identical terms occur in some languages, and the only error, therefore, of such writers consists in attempting to draw an universal conclusion from particular premises. But the attempt is equally hopeless in philology as in reasoning, and hence arises a complete disregard of every principle of language and pretended etymologies, which cannot be better described than in the words of Sir William Jones. " But I beg leave, as a philologer, to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for

* Such is the conclusion of Sir W. Jones, as explained in his Ninth Anniversary Discourse. But with respect to the Tartar, M. Klaproth observes, " Les Kalmouks sont une branche de la grande race Mongole. Plusieurs savans, même dans des temps modernes, ont presque toujours confondu cette race avec les tribus turques (tatares); mais elle en differe totalement par la langue et par la physionomie.—*Voyage au Caucase*, vol. i. p. 68.

As, however, the Mongol language bears no affinity to Sanscrit or Arabic, its distinct existence does not affect the argument, but only adds one more to the number of original languages.

another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels: for such permutations few radical words would be more convenient than cus or cush, since dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it instantly becomes coot, goose, and by transposition, duck, all water birds, and evidently symbolical; it next is the goat worshipped in Egypt, and, by a Metathesis, the dog adored is an emblem of Sirius, or more obviously, a cat, not the domestic animal, but a sort of ship, and the catos or great sea-fish of the Dorians." *

But the most singular manner of explaining the origin of language is contained in the posthumous work of the late Professor A. Murray. "The nations" (observes Dr. Murray), "from the confines of China to the Atlantic ocean, from Novaya Zemlia to Africa, speak different dialects of a language, of which the Teutonic is the simplest form existing." To prove this position, he proceeds to state that the elements of all languages may be resolved into these nine syllables, — *ag* or *wag*, *bag*, *dwag*, *gwag*, or *cwag*, *lag*, or *hlag*, *mag*, *nag*, or *hnag*, *rag* or *hrag*, and *swag*. — "These nine words (he adds) are the foundations of language, on which an edifice has been erected of a more wonderful and useful kind, than any which have exercised human ingenuity." †— But he remarks with justice, "that taste and philosophy will receive with aversion these rude syllables;" and had he not been misled by a favorite hypothesis the slightest reflection must have convinced him that such words could never have been "the base of that medium, through which Homer, and Milton, and Newton have delighted or illumined mankind." For it must be obvious that if Ag had upwards of two hundred significations (as ascribed to it by Dr. Murray,) it must have been perfectly impossible for the person addressed to understand in what sense the speaker intended to use it, and consequently that such words could never have fulfilled the purposes of speech. Dr. Murray, also, states that each of these words is a verb and name for a species of action, consequently, according to the principles of all languages, these words were incapable of being compounded together; and thus, what-

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 139.

† Murray's History of the European Languages, p. 28. *et seq.*

ever prefixes or affixes might have been added to them for the purpose of modifying their signification, no progress could have been made in the formation of language. For the radical must have still continued the same, and however the form might have been altered, it could never be made to convey any further meaning than a modification of the idea originally attached to it.

On Dr. Murray's hypothesis, therefore, language must have always remained in the rudest and most imperfect state; were it even admitted that any tribe of savages could ever have possibly carried on the slightest intercourse with only nine radical words. But the opinion, on which the whole of his system is founded, that particular terms were derived from general, and not general terms from particular *, is in direct contradiction to the internal evidence that every language affords. For the most cursory examination of different languages will shew that nouns, or the names of sensible objects, form their basis; and from the example of children and of persons speaking a foreign language with which they are imperfectly acquainted, it is obvious that such words are sufficient, with the assistance of gestures, to communicate many of the wishes or wants of man. They are at the same time the only parts of speech which possess an independent signification; and it is therefore surprising that Dr. Murray did not perceive that, if his nine elements of language were each "a verb and name for a species of action," it necessarily followed that as action could not be exerted without an agent and an object, these words could not have been invented without the previous existence of others to which they applied. The very examples that Dr. Murray gives,— "*the tree grows, the fire burns, the stone hurts, the plant poisons*," prove that the verbs could have no determinate meaning without the substantives; and it is, therefore, much more probable that a savage would

* "In short, our knowledge of language and man will warrant us to infer, that such words as cave, tree, or river, are from general terms: a cave is a hollow; a tree is a grower; a river is a runner; and it further appears, that the words hollow, grow, and run, are from others still more general. The actual experience of savages always must extend to the qualities of the external world, and the natural feelings."! Ibid. p. 179.

first invent a name for the sensible object, the tree, and that after having observed the gradual growth of a plant he would then and not before invent some term to express this process. Such a verb in particular, as *burns* presupposes the previous observation of the sensible object which produced this effect, and this object would no doubt receive a name before a general term was found to express the sensation which it caused.

If, therefore, language was invented by man the theory of its formation proposed by Adam Smith is certainly the most clear and satisfactory. But this theory, it is evident, can apply to one people only, for it attempts not to explain the causes which have occasioned that variety of names which are given by different nations to one and the same object. This difference the Mosaic History ascribes to a miraculous interposition of the supreme Being; and had mankind ever spoken only one language, such a miracle seems alone adequate to account for there now no longer existing any trace of this primitive tongue in the different languages of the world.—For no instance occurs of a language which has once existed becoming entirely extinct; and consequently, had this primitive tongue remained in use, some identical terms, and particularly some similarity of grammatical structure, must still be discoverable in every dialect of Asia and Europe. But not a single word or grammatical inflexion, as far as I am aware, has ever been discovered, or can be discovered which exists equally in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Tartar. —Apply this test to the various languages that have been derived from them, and it will be immediately observed, that although similar words may be found in all of them, still every term that is contained in each cannot be traced through all the dialects that belong to the same family. In all such examinations the etymologist is obliged to confess that the more the subject is investigated the more improbable becomes the conjecture, that all languages have been derived from one and the same origin. For at every step that he prosecutes his researches, this supposed identity gradually diminishes until it entirely disappears long before he attains the end of his pursuit. But he finds, without the least research, numerous words in all known languages which bear no

resemblance to each other, and the etymon of which it is impossible to discover, or to trace to a parent tongue. It has been conjectured that this world is composed of the fragments of an older world; but the supposition applies with still greater force to language; for in most of the various dialects * now existing in Asia and Europe, the widely-scattered remains of some more ancient tongues are so obvious, that they cannot escape the most superficial observation. The nations, it is true, which spoke these dialects have long perished, and their name has not been preserved by history; but language, the most indisputable of all testimony, still declares that they once existed.

It cannot, however, be denied that cognate and identical terms, and similarity of grammatical structure, are discoverable in several languages; and this affinity, if it does not prove the derivation of one from the other, must at least establish that they were all derived from some one common source. The object, therefore, of the following Researches is not to investigate the origin of speech, or to attempt to reduce the various languages of the world to one primitive tongue; but merely to exhibit the striking affinity that exists between the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and Gothic languages. As, however, mere etymological and grammatical disquisitions can afford little interest, I have also entered into an enquiry respecting the causes to which this affinity ought to be attributed. The relation that these languages bear to each other has already excited much attention; but I am not aware that any person has yet undertaken to investigate the subject fully, or to support his opinions by any extended list of the similar words that occur in them. As, therefore, the only satisfactory proof in all etymological enquiries is identity of terms, I now produce a collection of nine hundred Sanscrit words which exist either in Greek, Latin, Persian, German, or English. † All these words are primitives or

* There would seem to have been no foreign terms in Arabic previous to the birth of Muhammad, or, perhaps, to the accession of the Sassanian dynasty.

† Of this number, 339 are Greek, 319 Latin, 263 Persian, 162 German, and 251 English. Thirty-one belong to all these languages; 527 to Greek and Latin, omitting the words common to both; and 182 to German and English, without including those common to both or to the other languages.

uncompounded; and when it is recollected that these form but a small proportion of the words contained in any language *, it must appear the more surprising that so many of the Sanscrit primitives can still be discovered, after the lapse of ages, in languages now so widely separated.

But since so many learned men have maintained, and still maintain, that Hebrew is the parent of all languages, it became necessary to discuss at some length the correctness of an opinion which is in complete opposition to the conclusions which I have been led to form. For, until this point is determined, it is obvious that all etymological enquiries must fail to produce a satisfactory result. This opinion, however, might be ascribed to ignorance or an imperfect knowledge of oriental languages, and thus any refutation of it might appear superfluous. But as these writers understood Greek, and still persisted in deriving the most copious of all tongues from one the most scanty and imperfect, some enquiry whether any affinity can possibly exist between Hebrew and other languages appeared indispensable.

The two following chapters, therefore, contain the remarks on the nature of the Hebrew and Arabic languages which have occurred to me; and if I have succeeded in showing that their influence was restricted to Arabia, Syria, and the colonies of Phenicia, the reader will be the better prepared to enter upon the immediate object of these Researches. The origin, indeed, of nations is buried in obscurity; but the filiation and migrations of the people who composed them may still be traced in some measure by the means of language. Etymological enquiries, however, are in general considered of little or no value, and at best are treated as ingenious speculations of no utility. But the celebrity of the Greeks and Romans, the high antiquity of the Chaldeans and Hindus, and the proud superiority of the descendants

* Of this circumstance an opinion may be formed by observing, that the number of Greek primitives collected by MM. du Port Royal amount to 2200 only; that the Latin primitives contained in the Index Etymologicus of Gesner's Thesaurus amount to 2400; and that of the 2000 or 2500 Sanscrit verbal roots, 566 only have distinct meanings. But I am not aware of the exact number of simple words contained in Sanscrit, though it is not likely that it exceeds that of the Greek or Latin.

of the Gothic people, may, it is presumed, confer some interest on any investigation that relates to the origin of these nations and of their languages. Nor can an enquiry fail to excite some curiosity that searches for the causes which have occasioned identical terms to be preserved, after a lapse of more than three thousand years, on the banks of the Ganges and the Thames.

CHAP. II.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE HEBREWS.

THE writers who have contended that the Hebrew was the primitive tongue of mankind, from which all other languages have been derived, have not explained the manner in which this derivation was effected. They were no doubt embarrassed by the texts of Genesis before quoted; because, even if the language of Adam and Eve was preserved in the family of Shem, still the other descendants of Noah were deprived of it, and thus their respective tongues could bear no affinity to Hebrew. But, without insisting on these texts, no criteria are better adapted for ascertaining the correctness of an etymological conjecture than Geography, Chronology, and History. An examination, therefore, of the Jewish history will at once show whether or not the Hebrew ever exerted any influence over the languages of Asia and Europe.

The only account that exists of this people is contained in the Old Testament and in the works of Josephus. But the latter appears to have possessed no other materials for his relation of the early history of the Jews than the Old Testament. From this book alone, therefore, is derived all that is known of the Hebrews.* To its authenticity, either in the whole or in particular parts, I am aware that numerous objections have been made, and the slightest examination of it shows that it answers very imperfectly the purposes of history; for there is no fixed æra specified in it to which the events related can be

* Except with respect to their origin, for this is mentioned by several ancient writers. Diodorus Siculus, for instance, observes, "It is said, that some Egyptians proceeding from their own country gave rise to the Jewish people, who live between Arabia and Syria; hence, ancient and hereditary usage has established among them the custom of circumcising their boys, which they derived from the Egyptians," lib. i. c. 28. But Josephus has collected into his tract against Apion a variety of passages from ancient authors on this point, which he endeavours to refute.

referred, nor are there any uninterrupted genealogies or lists of kings which could in some measure remedy this defect; but a system of chronology has been framed from the data that it affords, which, however questionable in some points, brings down the Jewish history with sufficient accuracy from the creation of the world to about 400 years before Christ.

The father, however, of the Hebrew people was not born until 1948 years after the creation, and 2060 years before Christ; and his departing out of his country and from his kindred was occasioned by the express command of God. Abraham, after some journeying, finally fixed his abode in the land of Canaan; and there he and his family remained for 216 years, until his grandson Jacob, at the age of 130 years, removed into Egypt. It is to be particularly remarked, that at this period "All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; and the sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten."* For in the 12th Chapter of Exodus, 37., it is stated, that the children of Israel who departed out of Egypt after their bondage was "about 600,000 on foot that were men, beside children."

In the same chapter also of Exodus, 40, 41., it is said, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years. And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from Egypt." I cannot, therefore, discover on what grounds the received system of chronology assumes that the bondage in Egypt lasted only 215 years. For these texts are confirmed by the following:—"And he (the Lord) said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years." Genesis, xv. 13. "And God spake on this wise, that his (Abraham's) seed should sojourn in a

* Genesis, xlvi. 26, 27.

strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil 400 years." Acts, vii. 6.*

The children of Israel, however, were not permitted to proceed immediately into the promised land, but were obliged to wander for forty years in the desert which lies between it and Egypt. During this period Moses delivered to the Hebrews those laws, and established those customs and institutions, which have rendered this people so perfectly distinct from all other nations; and, after having ruled over them forty years, he died at the age of 120 years, and in 1515 B. C.

The period that elapsed from the death of Moses until the reign of David is the most intricate part of Jewish history, and writers differ respecting the exact number of years which it comprised. But in

* But these texts do not agree with the genealogy assigned to Moses; for, from Genesis, xlvi. 11., it appears, that Kohath, his grandfather, was born previous to Jacob's descent into Egypt. Supposing, therefore, that the filiation of Moses was as under: —

Jacob begets Levi	at	35 years of age.
Levi begets Kohath	-	30 —
Kohath begets Amran		35 —
Amran begets Moses	-	40 —
		140 years.†

As Jacob died at 147 years of age, and lived seventeen years in Egypt, Moses must, consequently, have been born seven years only after Jacob's death, and twenty-four after the descent into Egypt. If, therefore, to this last be added the age of Moses, eighty years, when he commenced his ministry, the period of the Hebrews' bondage in Egypt will have lasted only 104 years. It is at the same time evident, that as Kohath was born previous to the descent into Egypt, no probable mode of calculation can extend the period that elapsed from his birth to the commencement of the ministry of Moses, either to 215 or to 430 years. But the manner in which this difference ought to be rectified can depend only on conjecture; yet, since the texts above quoted are so precise and explicit, they seem best entitled to credit, as the memory of the descents that connected Amran with Kohath may, not unreasonably, be supposed to have been lost in the course of four hundred years.

† It is impossible to admit the following filiation, given in the Armenian translation of Eusebius's Chronicle and in Nicephorus: —

Jacob begets Levi	at	86 years of age.
Levi begets Kohath	-	46 —
Kohath begets Amran		63 —
Amran begets Moses	-	70 —

Because it is evidently inconsistent with the common course of human nature. +

Kings, vi. 1., it is said, "And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord." Deducting, therefore, the forty years of Moses' ministry and the forty years of David's reign, the period during which the Hebrews were governed by Judges and by Saul would be about 400 years.

But the principal difficulty consists in understanding the manner in which the occupation of the promised land was effected by the Hebrews. For it has been before observed, that on departing out of Egypt the children of Israel amounted to about 600,000 men, and Palestine exceeds not 200 miles in length, varying from eighty to fifteen miles in breadth; and yet Jerusalem was not taken until the seventh year of David's reign *, 400 years after the Hebrews had entered into this small country. It is also said that this narrow, confined, and mountainous region was divided into a number of small principalities, no less than thirty-three princes being particularized in the twelfth chapter of Joshua. But, notwithstanding their evident weakness, the numerous people of the Hebrews, so far from conquering these petty chiefs, were themselves subjected to servitude during various intervals of the above 400 years. At other times they appear to have lived in a state of anarchy, which is best described in the words of the Old Testament. "And the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord, that he did for Israel.... And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim: And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the

* Yet its capture by the children of Judah, immediately after the death of Joshua, is mentioned in the first chapter of Judges. It must have been afterwards retaken by the Jebusites.

Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them: and they were greatly distressed. Nevertheless the Lord raised up judges, which delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. And yet they would not hearken unto their judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them: they turned quickly out of the way which their fathers walked in, obeying the commandments of the Lord; but they did not so. And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge; and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge, for it repented the Lord because of their groanings by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them. And it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they returned and corrupted themselves more than their fathers, in following other gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from their own doings, nor from their stubborn way."*

The result of this state of alternate independence and servitude is equally pointedly explained in the following verses relating to Saul's army, in the third year of his reign. "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears: but all the Israelites went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his ax, and his mattock. Yet they had a file for the mattocks and for the coulters; and for the forks and for the axes, and to sharpen the goads. So it came to pass in the day of battle, that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan: but with Saul and with Jonathan his son was there found."†

The reign of David, from 1059 to 1019 B. C., was occupied in continual wars; but he appears to have completed the conquest of Palestine, and to have at last succeeded in uniting the Hebrews

* Judges, ii. 7. *et seq.*

† 1 Samuel, xiii. 19. *et seq.*

into one kingdom. But the prosperity resulting from his success endured no longer than the forty years' reign of his son Solomon; after which the revolt of the ten tribes restricted that part of the Hebrews which preserved the Jewish name to the small territory and kingdom of Judea. But as the received systems of chronology consider Homer to have been contemporary with Solomon, or not more than a century posterior to him, it is not necessary that I should pursue this subject further.

From these brief historical notices it must be evident that the language of Abraham could have exerted no influence over any other languages of the world than those of Egypt and Palestine. But when Abraham journeyed from Ur of Chaldea into these countries, he found them already civilised, and united into monarchical states of greater or less extent. That their people, therefore, would exchange their own tongue for that of a stranger, or even receive into it any foreign words from such a source, is in the highest degree incredible. On the contrary, it seems extremely probable that the language of the stranger would be considerably affected by that of the people among whom he dwelt, and that after 216 years' residence in Canaan, the family of Jacob did not speak the language of Abraham. It is still more impossible to conceive how the Hebrews could preserve, in Egypt, their own tongue, pure and unaffected by that of the country, during a period of 430 or even 215 years, and, most particularly, while they were increasing from seventy souls to 600,000 men, exclusive of women and children.

These circumstances, when duly considered, must evince that the language of Moses could not be the same as that of Abraham, nor does it even seem probable that, after the Hebrews had lived in Palestine for 400 years in the state above described, and in such close communication with the inhabitants as to adopt their idolatry, the language of Moses and David were the same. To this last supposition it will be immediately objected that the books of the Old Testament written before the time of David prove the contrary. But the style of these books, as it became antiquated, may have been rendered by the priests correspondent to the current speech of the day; and different phrases

and passages have been pointed out in these books, indicatory of their not being in the exact state in which they were originally written.

But, admitting that the Old Testament exhibits the Hebrew language as it was actually used by Moses, it is perfectly obvious that the Hebrews never had the means of extending its influence beyond the confines of Palestine. From the Exodus to the reign of Solomon they may be justly said to have contended for their existence as a distinct people; and, during this whole period of 480 years, not the slightest mention is made of their having ever been engaged in commerce or foreign war. Even when they attained considerable prosperity under Solomon, the position of their country effectually prevented their intercourse with any other people, except such as spoke a kindred language. Their peculiar customs and institutions, also, would alone prove that from the time of Moses, when they were first established, the Hebrews, and consequently their language, were completely cut off from the rest of the world. "But we do not," says Josephus, "inhabit a maritime country, nor find pleasure in commerce, and we, therefore, mix not with other people. Our towns are situated at a distance from the sea, and enjoying a fruitful soil we employ ourselves in cultivating it. We also consider the education of our children, the observance of our laws, and the piety inculcated by them, to be the chief business of our lives. To which let our peculiar mode of living be added, and there was no reason for the Greeks having any intercourse with us, as with the Egyptians, for the purpose of importing and exporting. The sea-coast was inhabited by the Phenicians, who, for the sake of lucre, were most intent on interior and foreign commerce; and our fathers did not, like other people, turn their attention to piracy, nor undertake wars for the purpose of aggrandisement."*

Geography, chronology, and history, therefore, demonstrate the impossibility of Hebrew being the primitive tongue from which all other

* Josephus contra Appionem, lib. i. cap. 12.

Bishop Lowth also observes of the Hebrews, "Legibus et sacris ab cæteris hominibus divisi nec admodum mercaturæ dediti, satis habuerunt eas artes colere, quæ ad vitæ usum simplicem et incultum, seu incorruptum potius, necessariæ essent. Itaque præcipua erat omnibus occupatio in colendis terris et curando pecore; agricolarum et pastorum ferme natio erant."— *De Sacra Persi Hebraorum*, vol. i. p. 78.

languages are derived: for the land of the Hebrews was bounded on all sides by countries in which a kindred language prevailed, and with the people beyond which they never had, in earlier times, any intercourse whatever, as is fully proved by their own history; nor could the few individuals of Abraham's family or the slaves of the Egyptians, who afterwards became the Hebrew people, have possibly communicated their language, even if they preserved a peculiar one, to other nations. The argument *à priori* being, consequently, so irrefutable, it becomes unnecessary to enter into any examination of the Hebrew language itself; and I shall, therefore, merely observe, that I have carefully examined the lexicons of Buxtorf and Castell, and that I have not been able to discover in them a single word which can be identified with any term in Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, German, or English.

If, however, this assertion should appear questionable, its justness will, I think, become evident from the mere consideration of the principles on which some etymologists attempt to torture the intractable words of Hebrew into resemblances with the words of other languages.* Mr. Townsend, for instance, who is the latest writer that

* These remarks of Cour de Gebelin deserve attention: — "Ce que nous avons dit dans nos origines Latines sur ceux qui en rapportent la source à l'Hébreu, convient également à la langue Grèque. Ceux qui se sont occupés des origines de celle-ci, n'ont pas été plus heureux que ceux qui ont cherché celles du Latin; procédant d'après les mêmes vues, marchant également au hasard; sans principes, sans goût, sans critique, sans philosophie, il ne reste rien de leurs ouvrages en dernière analyse. Ainsi tous ceux dont nous avons parlé dans nos origines Latines, opérant sur le Grèc comme ils avoient fait sur le Latin, allongeant, raccourcissant, estropiant les mots, à volonté, ne nous ont rien dit d'utile et de satisfaisant sur ces grands objets; ils n'ont fait que confondre et brouiller tout, augmentant les ténèbres et les erreurs dans lesquelles on étoit plongé. Afin de démontrer que le Grèc descend de l'Hébreu, il auroit falloir; 1°. montrer le plus grand rapport entre ces deux langues; 2°. faire voir que ce rapport étoit uniquement le résultat d'une filiation nécessaire entre le Grèc et l'Hébreu; 3°. que les Grècs eux-mêmes descendoient en effet des Hébreus, ou que ceux-ci communiquèrent nécessairement leur langue aux Grècs. Mais le rapport du Grèc avec l'Hébreu n'est pas plus grand qu'avec les autres langues, et la langue Hébreu, ou des descendans d'Abraham, n'en a produit aucune autre; les Grècs ne sont point du nombre de ces descendans, et ceux-ci ne sont pas venus apprendre aux Grècs à parler." —*Monde Primitive*, vol. ix. p. xix. xx.

But Mr. Townsend still maintains the contrary opinion, and in precisely the same manner as is so justly condemned in the preceding quotation; nor does he hesitate to observe, "I shall, however, shortly take occasion to demonstrate that Greek and Hebrew are

maintains that Hebrew is the primitive tongue from which all other languages are derived, is of opinion, that the operation of any one of the numerous causes of mutation, which he points out, would be sufficient, in the revolution of ages, to disguise a language, and to render its origin obscure; that various considerations have a tendency to produce despair of being ever able to demonstrate, or even to make it probable, that all languages are radically one; that the task is painful, but patience and perseverance, with a little sagacity, an extensive knowledge of languages, and strict attention to analogy, may accomplish that which at first sight appears impracticable. * The correctness of these remarks, if restricted to the cognate dialects of any one language, is obvious; but, if extended to distinct languages, their incorrectness is equally evident. For Mr. Townsend himself observes, that "the novice in languages would consider the attempt to connect *or*, the Hebrew word for light, with marble, as wild in the extreme. But when we observe *marmol* in Spanish, *marbre*, in French, and *marmor* in Latin, we readily conceive that *marble* is allied to these. From *marmor* the progress is easy, through μαρμαιρω and μαιρω, to or, hor, and mor of the same import; and every one knows that to receive a polish and to *shine* are the essential properties of marble."† But I must confess myself such a novice in languages, as to consider this etymology to be wild in the extreme.‡ At the same time, I readily admit

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radically one, as I have adduced sufficient evidence to prove that a similar identity subsists between Sanscrit and Greek. It will then, I trust, be clear to every one, that Sanscrit and Hebrew have a radical affinity, and may claim descent from the same progenitor, existing at a given time, when the whole earth was of one language. This conclusion is perfectly agreeable to the axiom, that if two things are equal to a third, they are equal to each other. The argument will then stand thus: Sanscrit and Greek are radically one, Greek and Hebrew are radically one, therefore, Sanscrit and Hebrew are radically one, *q. e. d.*"!! — *Character of Moses*, vol. ii. p. 330.

* Character of Moses, vol. ii. p. 38, 39. † Ibid. p. 51.

‡ As the *m* is a servile letter in Hebrew, it also errs against this very just rule which Mr. Townsend has himself laid down: — "To investigate a root, we must begin with decomposition; we must get rid of all the prepositive particles and idiomatic terminations, with such epenthetical syllables or letters as may have been introduced into the radical expression. In a word, we must reduce the term in question to its most simple and elementary form."—Ibid. p. 39.

that such etymologies "will immediately connect all the languages of Europe, and ultimately those also of Asia, and Africa, and of America, in which the same elementary words are found, although variously corrupted and disguised by adventitious ornaments and dress. For, on examination, it will appear, that the original language has existed, and does still substantially exist, diffused throughout the various languages which ever have been or now continue to be spoken in any quarter of the globe!"

But it is singular that such etymologists have not adverted to the remarkable difference which exists between the grammatical structure of Hebrew and that of Sanscrit and Greek. For various causes might occasion the passing of single words from one original language into another, and such terms, therefore, would be no proof of the affinity or common derivation of these two languages. The grammatical structure, on the contrary, is peculiar to each distinct tongue and even to each cognate dialect of the same language, and must have been coeval with the origin of each. If, therefore, Sanscrit and Greek were derived from Hebrew, in what manner did these languages acquire the numerous inflections which give their nouns and verbs such precision and variety, when the alleged parent tongue possesses scarcely any inflections? In what manner did the daughters learn to luxuriate in the compound terms to which they are indebted for such elegance and beauty, when the mother abhors the ornament of composition? In short, to what causes shall be ascribed the copious richness of Sanscrit and Greek, if they owe their origin to a language which has been always remarkable for its irremediable poverty? Until, however, these questions are satisfactorily answered, it must be evident that a few forced resemblances between Hebrew words and those of other languages will never prove, in the slightest degree, that Hebrew is the primitive tongue from which all other languages have been derived. *

* I observe, also, in the Journal Asiatique for February, 1825, the following remark, extracted from a work of M. Bopp, the justness of which cannot be controverted: — "En Sanscrit, la voyelle importe beaucoup au sens de la racine, qui change si elle est changée,

toup signifie blesser (en Grèc, τυπ, τυπτω), substituez y un *i*, *tip* signifiera *arroser*; *a*, *tap* voudra dire bruler. Il en est autrement dans les langues Semitiques: les voyelles y servent plutôt à déterminer les rapports grammaticaux, que la signification fondamentale. De *Katal*, en Hébreu, on ne peut former, par aucun changement quelqu'il soit, un mot qui ne se rapporte pas a l'idée de tuer; et tous les mots des langues Semitiques qui présentent les mêmes consonnes rangées dans le même ordre, sans aucun égard aux voyelles appartiennent à la même racine. Une racine Semitique est si indéterminée quant aux voyelles, qu'elle est plutôt comprise que prononcée." Such a radical dissimilarity is alone sufficient to prove that no language, the formation of which depends on the vowels, as Greek and Sanscrit, can possibly be derived from Hebrew.

CHAP. III.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

Did the primitive language of mankind still exist, there is no country in which it can be supposed with greater probability to have been preserved than Arabia; for the uncontradicted voice of tradition and history attests that this country, though partially conquered, was never occupied by a foreign people.* "But in an early period of antiquity," observes Gibbon, "the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert, and in the portrait of the modern Bedoweens, we may trace the features of their ancestors, who, in the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures."† The very nature of their country has impressed this unchangeable uniformity on the mode of living of the Arabs; for Volney justly remarks, "Ce n'est pas sans raison que les habitans du desert se vantent d'être la race la plus pure et la mieux conservée des peuples Arabes: jamais en effet ils n'ont été conquis.... On peut dire qu'ils ont conservé à tous égards leur indépendance et leur simplicité pre-

* "The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt, and the Turks; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the people has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies; the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack."—*Gibbon's Roman Empire*, vol. ix. p. 229.

† Ibid. p. 223.

mières. Ce que les plus anciennes histoires rapportent de leurs usages, de leurs meurs, de leurs langues, et même de leurs préjugés, se trouve encore, presqu'en tout, le même ; et cette unité de caractère conservée dans l'éloignement des temps subsiste aussi dans l'éloignement des lieux, c'est-à-dire, que les tribus les plus distantes se rassemblent infiniment.... A l'égarde des Arabes, ils semblent condamnés d'une manière spéciale à la vie vagabonde par la nature de leurs deserts. Pour se peindre ces deserts, que l'on se figure, sous un ciel presque toujours ardent et sans nuages, des plaines immenses et à perte de vue, sans maisons, sans arbres, sans ruisseaux, sans montagnes ; quelquefois les yeux s'égarent sur un horizon raz et uni comme la mer. En d'autres endroits le terrein se courbe en ondulations, ou se hérisse de rocs et de rocailles. Presque toujours également nue, la terre n'offre que des plantes ligneuses clair-semées, et des buissons épars, dont la solitude n'est que rarement troublée par des gazelles, des lièvres, des sauterelles, et des rats. Tel est presque tout le pays qui s'étend depuis Alep jusques à la mer d'Arabie, et depuis l'Egypte jusqu'au Golfe Persique, dans un espace de 600 lieues de longueur sur 300 de large." *

To this striking description of Arabia the province of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, forms the only exception, the inhabitants of which seem always to have led a sedentary life, and to have been united into one kingdom at a very early period of the world ; for, of the forty-two towns which the geographer Abulfeda enumerates in the whole of Arabia, the most ancient and populous were situated in Yemen. The great body of the Arabs, consequently, led a pastoral life, and were little acquainted with agriculture or commerce. But their communication with the strangers who frequented the Arabian ports on the coasts of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, or their own occasional journeys into Syria, were of much too weak and transient a nature to exert the slightest influence over the language of so extensive a country, or to produce the slightest change in the mode of living of the people.

The deserts of Arabia, therefore, were as powerful causes, as the

* Volney, Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, vol. i. p. 347. et seq.

peculiar and unsocial customs of the Hebrews, to prevent other nations from maintaining an intercourse with its inhabitants, or from establishing themselves in the country. But the descendants of Ishmael* did not, like the descendants of Isaac, live for eight hundred years in a foreign land, nor did they ever suffer servitude and bondage to a foreign people. The Arabic, consequently, was not liable to be affected and changed, like the language of Abraham †, by the speech of other nations; nor is there any conceivable cause which could operate any alteration in it, after it was once formed, and the Arabs had taken possession of the country which they have inhabited from time immemorial. The very nature of language shows that, as its sole purpose is to communicate the wants and wishes of man, its copiousness must depend on the ideas which it is required to express; and it is hence obvious that when a people have adopted a particular mode of life, no other cause than the creation of new wants and new ideas can possibly occasion any accession to their language. But, until the time of Muhammad, there appears not the slightest indication in history that the Arabs had ever passed out of their own country, and thus acquired a knowledge of things with which they were before unacquainted, or that strangers had ever introduced into it any new objects of luxury or learning; and consequently their language, whatever refinement it may have received from the Arabs themselves, must have, in other respects, always remained in its original state, and must have been at all times entirely free from exotic words and phrases.

The language of the Koran and of the modern Bedoweens, at the same time, proves that Arabic has not been in any manner affected by the languages of the countries which were conquered by the Arabs since the

* "The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks; Kahtan, the same with Joctan the son of Eber, and Adnan descended in a direct line from Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar."—*Sale's Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, p. 11.

† I must again observe, that the possibility of the language of Abraham remaining in its original state, during the 216 years that he and his family resided in Canaan, and the 430 years that the Hebrews abode in Egypt, and the 400 years, from the Exodus to the reign of David, that they dwelt in such intimate connection with the people of Palestine, is so directly contrary to experience, as to render every argument or hypothesis that rests on the assumed originality of the Hebrew language totally untenable.

time of Muhammad. In fact, from the period that Moaviah transferred the seat of government from Mecca to Damascus, the further conquests of the Moslems were not effected by the inhabitants of Arabia, but by armies composed of converts made to Islamism, and of the descendants of the conquerors born in the conquered provinces. It seems even highly probable, that, within a century after the death of the prophet, scarcely a single native of Arabia was to be found in the Muhammadan armies. The impulse which he had communicated to the inhabitants of the desert gradually ceased, and the Arabs, with the exception of religion, returned to their former habits and their former mode of life. So little influence, also, did the language of the conquerors exert over that of the conquered, that it found not reception either in Persia or Spain, and established its prevalence only in Syria, where a cognate dialect existed, or in some parts of Africa, where the mixed languages resulting from previous conquest were easily superseded by Arabic.

But the internal evidence alone of the Arabic language is sufficient to prove its high antiquity and its perfect originality: for, with the exception of a very few Persian and Greek words, not a foreign term is to be discovered in it; its grammatical structure is rude and imperfect; and the number of ideas which its words radically express is extremely limited. These ideas, also, relate entirely to the nature of the country, and to the manner of life of the Arabs; and any person might obtain, from the mere examination of the Lexicon of Golius, very full and correct information respecting these subjects. I am, at the same time, aware, that, from the high encomiums which so many writers concur in bestowing on the beauty and richness of this language*, the opinion now expressed will most probably be considered as merely hazarded for the sake of singularity, and therefore undeserving of

* A specimen of these encomiums may be taken from Richardson's preface to his Arabic Grammar, as he has merely condensed into one sentence the principal subjects of panegyric of other writers. "The dialects of their numerous tribes furnished them (the Arabs) with rich mines; from these they freely borrowed; and formed from the whole a language sublime, comprehensive, copious, energetic, delicate, majestic; adapted equally for the softness of love, or the poignancy of satire; for the mournfulness of elegy, or the grandeur of heroics; for the simplest tale, or the boldest effort of rhetoric."

attention: but, if it be admitted that words are formed solely for the expression of ideas, it must necessarily follow that the language of a pastoral people, living in such a country as Arabia, but slightly acquainted with agriculture and foreign commerce, unused to foreign war, and entirely ignorant of all literature, arts, and science, except such as consisted in the few rude approaches to the latter necessary for their mode of life, and in the cultivation of their own tongue, never could possess either copiousness or elegance.

Sir William Jones, however, is of opinion that "as the Arabic language is unquestionably one of the most ancient in the world, so it yields to none ever spoken by mortals in the number of its words, and the precision of its phrases." But a number of words, when they are merely synonymes for one and the same idea, as in Arabic, is the most convincing proof of the barrenness of a language *; for it incontrovertibly proves that the people who spoke it, or rather the persons who cultivated it, having become sensible of the monotony arising from the paucity of their ideas being always expressed in the same terms, could devise no other means of producing variety than by the invention of a new word, perhaps at first indicative of some qualification or modification of the original idea. The existence, however, of synonymes in the Arabic language, at least to any extent, is very questionable†, and the number of words, therefore, applies rather to what might be formed according to grammatical rules than to the number which has at any time existed in Arabic: for Sir William Jones observes, "The Arabic roots are universally triliteral, so that the composition of the twenty-eight Arabian letters would give near two and twenty thousand elements of

* "Tanta copia alias linguas (lingua Arabica) superat ut unius rei appellationes variæ earumque applicationes voluminis integri materiam prebeant. Leonis nomina habent quingenta, serpentis ducenta, mellis octoginta, de quibus integrum libellum scripsit Firanzabadius. Ensis vero appellationes testatur idem esse supra mille, quas in libro a se composito enumeravit. Emphasis vero et apta vocum significatio rerum ipsarum naturam plene exprimentes, phrases porro et formulæ tanta gratia et venustate pollent, ut Græcorum χαριτες cum his collatæ αχαριτες et Latinorum gratiæ ingratæ videri possint." — *Walton, Proleg.* 14.

† I speak merely from what has occurred to me during my study of the language, as I have never examined it for the purpose of ascertaining this particular point.

the language; and this will demonstrate the surprising extent of it; for although great numbers of its roots are confessedly lost, and some, perhaps, were never in use, yet, if we suppose ten thousand of them (without reckoning quadriliterals) to exist, and each of them to admit only five variations, one with another, in forming derivative nouns, even then a perfect Arabic dictionary ought to contain fifty thousand words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar." A much more certain mode of ascertaining the extent of the Arabic language would have been to have examined a dictionary, carefully marking such words as were in use, and such as had been merely formed by grammarians; and it would then, if I be not greatly mistaken, have satisfactorily appeared that the copiousness of Arabic is only in *posse* and not in *esse*.

But to ascribe precision to Arabic is the most extraordinary praise that has ever been bestowed on this language; for in it, though the nouns have three cases, the verbs have only two tenses, and no moods except the indicative, imperative, and infinitive. Two additional past tenses may, indeed, be formed by the assistance of the substantive verb; but the verb itself still remains deficient in a present and future tense, and in a conjunctive, potential, and optative mood. These defects are attempted to be remedied by the use of certain particles, which give to the tenses of the Arabic verb a restricted or modified meaning; but it must be obvious that such a succedaneum can but imperfectly indicate the various modifications of time and action, which are expressed by the moods and tenses of the verbs of any language that is at all perfect. Arabic, also, when written, becomes, in consequence of the imperfection of its alphabet, the most indistinct of all languages: for almost all the inflections of the noun and verb end in a short vowel; and, as the short vowels are not expressed by alphabetical characters, but by diacritical points which are in general omitted in writing, it is with the utmost difficulty that it can be determined what the word is which is actually intended. ضربت (zrbt), for instance, may be the first person, the second person masculine or feminine, and the third person feminine, of the preterite of the active or passive voice, or it may be a form of the

infinitive of the verb ضرب, or it may be a noun, according as the short vowels may be supplied. The diacritical points, also, belonging to the consonants are not unlikely to be omitted, and then three of them may be taken for other letters of the same form. To predicate, therefore, precision of such a language as this must be a strange abuse of terms; and to suppose it adapted for varied, beautiful, and expressive composition must be equally erroneous.

The very genius of the Arabic language consists in its rudeness and imperfection; for it was most sedulously cultivated for five hundred years *, and yet not the slightest change was effected in its general character, nor was it rendered in any degree more flexible, or better adapted for the purposes of literature. Of this circumstance no more conclusive proof can be required, than the Arabic works produced during this period. These consist of interminable commentaries on the Koran and the traditions, voluminous but subtle disquisitions on Arabic grammar, ponderous works on jurisprudence with still more ponderous glosses, several philosophical works, some meagre histories and a few monotonous collections of poetry†: but, immensely

* From the accession of the Abbassides, in 750, until the capture of Bagdad by the Tartars in 1258.

† The following observations of Sir W. Jones apply equally to modern as to ancient Arabic poetry: — "Sed mos erat perpetuus antiquis Arabum poetis, aut ab amoribus poema ordiri, aut amorum descriptionem medio poemati apte intexere; deinde equum aut camelum describere, quo vecti ad amicarum tentoria accederent; et postea ad argumentum præcipuum uberius tractandum properare, donec per suavem rerum varietatem carmen deducentes, lapsu quodam molli et æquabili, in clausulam quasi subito caderent.... Primum illius (Abi 'l Ola) in laudem principis Said carmen harum literarum cultoribus non minorem affert delectationem, quam Græcæ poeseos amatoribus primum et quartum Pythium. Hujus elatissimi poematis illustriores quasdem virtutes exponam. Seipsum initio alloqui videtur, et sententiarum seriem de vanis animæ humanæ cogitationibus fundit. Mox de sua peregrinatione loquitur; mulieres quasdam inducit de causa itineris percontantes. Tum, ad principis laudationem facili aperto aditu, in elatam animi exultantiam erumpit, et in magnificos versus sese effundit. Deinde bella principis, tanquam venatoris potentissimi, describit. Hinc ad amores suos, more Arabico, transit; et amicam sub juvencæ imagine adumbrat. Tempestatem describit ac fulgura; morales quasdam sententias, ut Pindarus solet, intexit. Hinc occasionem sumit in tribum Badia invehendi, quos inhospitalitatis insimulat; iisque Saidi liberalitatem tanquam exemplum proponit, cujus fortitudinem ac potentiam mirificis coloribus pingit. Mox equum

numerous as these works are, the Arabic language, throughout the whole of them, maintains its barren uniformity; and never is the reader refreshed by any change in the unvaried structure of the sentences of humbler prose, or in the dull modulation of rhetorical periods; nor even in poetry is he ever delighted by the variety, sweetness, and beauty, which composition of words and the placing them as best conduces to harmony can alone bestow on verse. From what has been mentioned of Arabic accidence it is obvious that this uniformity in the structure of its periods could not be avoided; for the least change in the accustomed place of the noun, or verb, or particle, would at once render the sense ambiguous, if not unintelligible.

But the peculiar characteristic of Arabic, and what distinguishes it in particular from the other languages treated of in these RESEARCHES, is its roots, and the manner in which all the other words are derived from them according to certain grammatical rules. The Sanscrit, it is true, is said by grammarians to be also formed by the same means: but its roots have in themselves no signification, and require several changes before they can be conjugated even as verbs; and the derivation from them of other words is often so forced and unsatisfactory, as to render it evident that the roots could not have been a constituent part of the original language. In Arabic, on the contrary, the root is the third person singular of the preterite of the verb, and the derivations from it

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principis ob celeritatem ac nobilitatem, Græcorum more, collaudat, et post nobilem gladii prosopopœiam, variasque laudationes, poema claudit." — *Sir William Jones's Works*, vol. ii. p. 392. 155.

The above remarks describe with accuracy the subjects which invariably occur in all Arabic poems; and the deductions which should be made from this strain of panegyric, will be best ascertained by a reference to Sir William's translation of the Moallakat. The smaller pieces of Arabic poetry, however, often possess much sweetness and beauty; but Dr. Carlyle's Specimens can convey but an imperfect idea of the originals which he has so loosely paraphrased.

Arabic prose, when written rhetorically, requires that it should consist of periods modulated in a certain cadence; but such a style, though its occasional occurrence might please, is extremely wearisome and disagreeable in a work of any length. Of humbler Arabic and Hebrew prose a very correct opinion may be formed from reading a page or two of any narrative part of the English Old Testament, and carefully omitting all words that occur in italics.

are conducted in so simple and perspicuous a manner, that their relation to the root becomes at once obvious. It is this circumstance, and the method by which the verb receives various modifications in its original meaning by its being formed into thirteen conjugations, each of which denotes a particular mode of action or passion, that give to the Arabic language, on the first view, so much the appearance of its being the work of philosophical grammarians, and not of a rude race of men scarcely emerged from the savage state.

This manner of forming a language, peculiar to Arabic and its cognate dialects, and so different from the structure of all other languages, is certainly a singularity deserving of attention: but the praises which have been bestowed on it seem to have proceeded from an imperfect consideration of the subject; for, in the origin and progress of language, there is no means of determining whether the invention of a new word, or the modification of a word already invented, would be a process of the greater difficulty. The former is the mode which has been adopted by the greatest number of people, as their languages attest; but the Arabic method appears the simplest, and the preserving the letters of a root already in use, and giving it a further signification by the mere addition of other letters, would seem to be a resource that might occur to even the rudest people. It is at least obvious, that this last method must have condemned the language so formed to irremediable poverty: because the invention of roots would be regulated entirely by the ideas which it was indispensable for a people to communicate, in that state of society in which they might be placed; and, as the Arabs adopted, at a very early period of the world, and have immemorially adhered to a pastoral life, it is evident that the objects and ideas, for which words were at first required by them, must have been few in number. It seems equally evident that, as their mode of life never changed in its essential character, the new terms that might have become necessary would have been such only as were requisite to express those accidental modes of being, thinking, and acting, a knowledge of which might be gradually acquired by a pastoral people from long observation and association. For this purpose, therefore, the

original roots would have been sufficient. But, had even other words denoting new and unknown objects become necessary, the impossibility of assimilating them to the peculiar genius of their own language must have prevented them from availing themselves of such new ideas, and from thus augmenting and improving their own barren and inflexible tongue. The peculiarity, also, of such a structure of language renders the composition of words incompatible with the principles of its formation, and thus deprives it of that resource which has contributed so much to the richness of other languages without their being indebted to foreign assistance. An attentive consideration, consequently, of Arabic and its cognate dialects will, I think, evince that the simplicity and philosophical precision of its formation are merely apparent; and that, so far from its structure deserving praise, to it alone must be ascribed the inflexible uniformity, and the want of variety and copiousness of expression, which have been at all times the distinguishing characteristics of the Arabic language.

The same remarks apply to Hebrew, which, both in its words and its grammatical structure, bears so intimate an affinity to Arabic *, as to render it highly probable that they are both merely dialects of that language which was spoken by the race of men by whom Arabia and Syria † was originally peopled. But the imperfect state in which Hebrew has been preserved, and the impenetrable obscurity which conceals the early history of the world, preclude the possibility of determining the origin from which such Hebrew words as do not exist in Arabic have been derived. They conform, however, in every respect, to the genius of this language; and they may, therefore, with much probability, be considered as terms which may have become obsolete in it, or as belonging to that dialect of the parent tongue which was at first spoken in Palestine or Canaan.

Were, therefore, history entirely silent, the peculiar structure of the Arabic and Hebrew would alone prove that they never could have

* It is universally admitted that the roots of many Hebrew words, now lost, may still be found in Arabic.

† I mean, of course, Syria in its largest extent. With the Syriac language I am not acquainted; but its intimate affinity with Hebrew and Arabic has never been disputed.

been the origin of the other languages of the world. But tradition and history sufficiently show that from the particular nature and position of the countries which they inhabited, and from their peculiar mode of life, neither the Hebrews nor Arabs had ever at any time such a communication with other nations as could ever have effected the introduction into their languages of Hebrew or Arabic words. To this conclusion Phenicia forms no objection; for, if the Phenician language was, as it is generally supposed, an Arabic or Hebrew dialect, the non-existence in Greek of Arabic or Hebrew words* proves that the introduction of letters into Greece by Cadmus (if such an event ever happened) operated no change in the language of the country, and all chronologists place the foundation of Carthage posterior to Homer. The colonies of Carthage, therefore, were not established until long after the Greek language was fully formed, and there is every reason to believe that Sanscrit existed in its present state prior to the navigations of the Phenicians; and thus, the only means by which other languages might have been affected by an Arabic dialect, were not in operation until these languages had received such a fixed form and such a currency as must have prevented the admission of foreign terms. In the existing languages, also, of the countries to which the navigations of the Phenicians were directed, and in which the colonies of Carthage were established, no vestige of an Arabic dialect can now be found.† It must, therefore, necessarily follow, that that portion of Asia, which comprises Arabia and Syria, was peopled, or at least inhabited from time immemorial, by a distinct race of men, who spoke a language peculiar to themselves; and that this language, with its cognate dialects, has been at all times confined to these countries, and that it never has extended its influence beyond their limits, except to a small part of Africa.

* I am aware that it has been asserted (See F. Von Schlegel, Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 74.) that the Greek contains more Arabic words than is generally supposed, but, until these words are produced, and their identity established, I must doubt the correctness of this assertion; for I have never been able to discover any such identical terms.

† The Arabic words in Spanish must be attributed to the conquest of that country by the Arabs, until the contrary is proved.

CHAP. IV.

THE ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, AND EGYPT.

If I have succeeded in showing that Arabic* could not have been the origin of the other languages of the world, it necessarily follows, that the country in which it ceased to be spoken must have been conterminous to one in which another distinct language prevailed. To the east of Arabia, therefore, the first country where an original tongue can at this day be found is Persia. But between these two countries, and also extending along the northern boundaries of Arabia and Syria, is interposed that region which is bounded on the west by the Euphrates, and on the east at present by the Tigris, but in early times by Mons Zagros. Here was the seat of the Assyrian empire, and it would, therefore, be desirable to ascertain what was the language which was spoken by the subjects of Belus and Ninus. But the primeval history of this country is involved in the utmost obscurity, and it has been so often conquered as to render it extremely doubtful whether any trace of its ancient language still exists.

Ancient history, however, both sacred and profane, attests that the first monarchies were established in Babylonia and Assyria. But a difference of opinion prevails respecting the manner in which Genesis, x. 11. ought to be understood; and the learned have not yet determined whether it ought to be translated, "Out of this land went Ashur and built Nineveh;" or, "he (Nimrod) went out of this land into Ashur and built Nineveh." If the last be adopted, and the word "Ashur" be understood as denoting a country and not a man, there

* For the sake of brevity I shall in future comprise under the general term Arabic the Hebrew, Syriac, and other cognate dialects. The German literati have adopted the term *Semitic* for this family of languages; but this term seems improper, as it involves an hypothesis and may, therefore, exert an influence on reasoning without its being observed, and the same objection applies to the use of the term *Hebrew*.

will be found no mention in the Mosaic account of the origin of the Assyrian empire. At the same time the memoirs on this subject inserted in the Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, all written with great fulness and great learning, merely prove that the more carefully the passages relating to it, that are contained in ancient authors, are collected and examined, the greater is the uncertainty which is produced. But it sufficiently appears from them that the only data, entirely free from doubt, from which a conclusion can now be deduced, are the following: — Herodotus states that the Assyrian empire was subverted after it had ruled Upper Asia for 520 years *; and Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias, relates that thirty generations of kings, from Ninus to Sardanapalus (both inclusive), reigned in succession, sons succeeding to fathers, until the revolt of the Medes, which took place after the Assyrian empire had continued for upwards of 1360 years.† The other passages of ancient authors which have been preserved are merely quotations made by later writers from works no longer extant, and consequently there are no means of determining how far they may have been faithfully extracted, or the degree of credit to which they may be entitled.‡

Volumes have been written on the above two passages, but I shall merely repeat the observation, that the number of generations given by Ctesias is perfectly incompatible with the number of years, as each king would, on an average, have reigned forty-five years, a period which is quite irreconcilable to experience and the common course of nature. But these generations apply accurately to the duration of the Assyrian

* Herodotus, lib. i. c. 91.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 21.

‡ See, however, on this subject, a Mémoire by M. Treret and the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. v. p. 331.; but he observes in a following Mémoire, "La connaissance que nous avons aujourd'hui de l'ancienne histoire, est presqu'entièrement fondée sur diverses citations, que nous trouvons répandues dans les écrits de l'antiquité. ... Mais, comme ces fragmens laissent souvent des vuides entr'eux; que plusieurs sont obscurs, et paroîssent opposés les uns aux autres, ou avec des histoires dont la suite entière nous est connue, il ne suffit pas de déterminer en général le degré d'autorité des écrivains dont on employe les fragmens; il faut encore souvent les interpréter, et les supplier par des conjectures, et des hypothèses, qui ne tirent leur force que de leur probabilité, et de leur liaison avec le reste de l'histoire." — Ibid. vol. vi. p. 147.

empire mentioned by Herodotus, as each king's reign would then, on an average, have continued for only seventeen or eighteen years, which is perfectly consistent with probability. I am, therefore, surprised that most writers have contented themselves with adopting either one or other of these accounts, and with arranging their systems accordingly: for, if it be once admitted, as most consonant with probability, that Herodotus and Ctesias both intend the same dynasty, it is only further requisite to suppose that Ctesias, not possessing any information respecting the prior kingdom of Babylon, has confounded with it that of Nineveh, and has ascribed the establishment of the former to the actual founders of the latter. It would, then, merely follow, that the history of the Babylonians had irretrievably perished previous to the time of the first Grecian writer, and that when Herodotus mentions Assyrians he means those of Nineveh only. But the simple circumstance of a monarchy having existed in Babylonia 800 years before it was conquered by Ninus is a fact that might be easily remembered; and it is, also, one that would have flattered the pride of the conqueror; as nothing could be a more convincing proof of his greatness and power, than the conquest of a kingdom which had flourished for so many ages. To this supposition the only objection is the silence of Herodotus. But all his works have not reached posterity; and other ancient writers have expressly ascribed the foundation of the Babylonian monarchy not to Ninus, but to Belus, whose memory was long preserved by his name having been given to that remarkable tower in Babylon which has been so often described.

Though, therefore, ancient history does not furnish sufficient proof that Babylon was once a powerful and independent monarchy; yet it does not in any manner contradict such a supposition, but, on the contrary, records many circumstances which, when combined, depose strongly in its support. Nothing, certainly, can be more probable, than that Babylon might, from small beginnings, have succeeded in extending its authority over the whole of that tract of country which is bounded on the east by the Mons Zagros, on the

north by Armenia, and on the west and south by the Euphrates. In process of time this state declines, and the governor of Nineveh rebels, and renders himself so powerful that either he or his son succeeds in conquering the whole country, and in transferring the sovereignty from the reigning dynasty to his own family. It is, also, to be remarked, that all ancient writers, I believe, agree in the essential fact of there having been only one Assyrian empire, and that none mention the existence, previous to the Ninus of Herodotus, of two contemporary kingdoms, the one at Babylon and the other at Nineveh. It is, therefore, merely requisite, supposing that the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias relate to the same dynasty, to weigh the probability of the Assyrian monarchy having been founded at Babylon 2000 years B. C. according to Ctesias, or at Nineveh only 1200 years B. C. according to Herodotus. * But as the high antiquity of the Babylonians seems sufficiently attested by ancient history, and as the few words of Herodotus do not necessarily imply that a kingdom did not exist in Babylonia previous to Ninus, the number of years assigned to the Assyrian empire by Ctesias seems most consistent with probability.

As scarcely any events of Assyrian history are related, this point would be of little importance, were it not that, from the centrical situation and acknowledged power of this empire, it is much more probable that language should have been introduced into the adjacent countries by its people than by the Egyptians. Nothing, however, respecting the language of Babylonia can be learned from ancient writers, but modern authors have, on no sufficient grounds, concluded that it was Chaldaic. For Bochart himself admits, " Hanc linguam etsi Hebraicæ valde vicinam Judæos ante captivitatem Babylonicam non intellixisse testatur Jeremias, v. 15.;" and also, " Prima (lingua) est Chaldæa seu Syra quo Daniel et Esdras multa scripserunt, et Jeremias unicum comma, x. 11."† Adelung, also, is of opinion, that

* In a paper contained in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, I have endeavoured to prove, from Persian and other authorities, that the revolt of the Medes, or rather the Persians, from the Assyrians took place in 749 B. C.

† Bocharti Opera, vol. i. p. 57.

"The most ancient pure Babylonian dialect is unknown: Semitic it certainly was. As little is it known what change the Kushites, an Arabian colony, may have produced in it. After the emigration of the Chaldæans their dialect became predominant, which Daniel, cap. ii.*, expressly calls Aramæan."† But Adelung does not clearly explain the reasons which induced him to conclude that the ancient dialect of Babylonia was Semitic, nor does he attempt to fix the date of this supposed immigration of Chaldeans into it, but admits that for many centuries after the time of Jacob the Chaldeans are not mentioned until the conquests of Asarhaddon, 673 B. C."‡ It therefore appears that the Jews had no knowledge of the ancient language of Babylonia, and that their intercourse with this country did not take place until after Nineveh had been conquered by the Medes, and a new kingdom established at Babylon: consequently the Old Testament affords no information on the subject; for, admitting that the language spoken in this latter kingdom was Chaldaic, it follows not that such was the language which previously prevailed in Babylonia and Assyria.

But even this last opinion rests on no sufficient grounds: because the words in Daniel, ii. 4., "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac," prove not that the tongue of the Chaldeans was Syriac, but merely that these wise men addressed the king in this language; for, had they spoken in the vernacular tongue of the country, it seems extremely improbable that Daniel would have noticed so trivial a circumstance. Nor do the passages in Daniel and Esdras written in Chaldaic afford more conclusive testimony, as no reasonable cause can be ascribed for this singularity: for there is no authority what-

* ["And the king (Nebuchadnezzar) spoke unto Ashpenaz the master of the eunuchs, that he should bring certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes; children in whom there was no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and *whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.*" Daniel, i. 3, 4. These texts seem to contradict the interpretation given by Adelung to the one which he cites.]

† Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 329.

‡ Ibid. p. 316.

ever for supposing that the Jews forgot their own language during their seventy years' captivity, and adopted that of the people amongst whom they resided*; and, had this been the case, the whole books of Daniel and Esdras, and not a few passages only, would undoubtedly have been written in this new language, or otherwise they could not have been understood by the Jews. The Chaldaic Targums, also, prove nothing, for the oldest ascends not beyond forty years before Christ, and, consequently, there is no evidence that it is written in the language which prevailed in Babylonia previous to its being conquered by Cyrus in 538 B.C. Nor, with regard to the more ancient language of this country, can any argument be founded on Ur being situated in it, because I have already shown how impossible it is that the present Hebrew can be the language which was spoken by Abraham.

It must, therefore, be concluded that the ancient tongue of Babylonia and Assyria is either extinct, or that it must be sought for in other languages which still exist. It is on this account that I have entered into the preceding discussion; and it will perhaps be admitted that there is nothing contained either in sacred or profane history, which can contradict any conclusions with respect to this language, that may be formed in the course of the following researches.

The only people to whom the unanimous voice of ancient history ascribes the same antiquity as the Babylonians are the Egyptians. From Egypt, also, the Greeks admitted that they had derived in a great measure their people, their language, and their religion. But the only authority on which the truth of these circumstances depends, is the relation made to Grecian travellers by the priests of Egypt. No written documents have ever been examined or produced; and all, therefore, that is known respecting the ancient state of this country appears in a form the most questionable and liable to objection: for, were it even admitted that the Egyptian priests communicated to strangers nothing but the truth, still innumerable mistakes might arise

* As it appears, also, that Daniel, and the greatest part of the Jewish captives, lived in Persia, it must follow, that had the Jews changed their language for that of the country, this language must have been Persian and not Chaldaic.

from the stranger's imperfect knowledge of the Egyptian language, and from the difficulty that exists in understanding an explanation of things previously unknown; and, were even these causes of error avoided, the information obtained must always depend on the abilities of the enquirer, and its accurate transmission on his freedom from preconceived opinions and prejudice. The accounts, consequently, given by ancient writers, of the Egyptians cannot be received as conclusive; and their authority may, therefore, be rejected, whenever it is inconsistent with probability, or repugnant to facts established on sufficient evidence.

But an examination of the early history of this country, which has exercised the skill of so many learned men, is unnecessary; because, with the exception of the conquests of Osiris and Sesostris, and the colonies that may have proceeded from Egypt, it is not related that the Egyptians ever traversed or occupied other countries. The Egyptians, also, considered themselves to be autochthones; but it is most probable that their country was peopled from Arabia or Syria, and, consequently, that their original language was Arabic. Volney, however, observes: "En considérant le visage de beaucoup d'individus de cette race (Copte), je lui ai trouvé un caractère particulier qui a fixé mon attention: tous ont un ton de peau jaunâtre et fumeux, qui n'est ni Grec ni Arabe; tous ont le visage bouffi, l'œil gonflé, le nez écrasé, la lèvre grosse; en un mot, une vraie figure de Mulâtre. J'étais tenté de l'attribuer au climat, lorsqu'ayant été visiter le sphinx; son aspect me donna le mot de l'énigme. En voyant cette tête caracterisée nègre dans tous ces traits, je me rappelai ce passage remarquable d'Hérodote, où il dit: *pour moi, j'estime que les Colches sont une colonie des Egyptiens, parceque, comme eux, ils ont la peau noire et les chevaux crépus:* c'est-à-dire que les anciens Egyptiens étaient vrais nègres de l'espèce de tous les naturels d'Afrique." He adds, with justice: "On peut même donner à cette observation une étendue tres-générale; et poser en principe, que la physionomie est une sorte de monument propre en bien des cas à constater ou éclaircir les témoignages de l'histoire, sur les origines des peuples. Parmi nous, un laps de neuf cents ans n'a pu effacer la

nuance qui distinguait les habitans des Gaules, de ces *hommes du Nord*, qui, sous Charles-le-Gros, vinrent occuper la plus riche de nos provinces. Les voyageurs qui vont par mer de Normandie en Danemarck, parlent avec surprise de la ressemblance fraternelle des habitans de ces deux contrées, conservée malgré la distance des lieux et des temps. La même observation se présente, quand on passe de Franconie en Bourgogne; et si l'on parcourait avec attention la France, l'Angleterre, ou toute autre contrée, on y trouverait la trace des émigrations écrite sur la face des habitans. Les Juifs n'en portent-ils pas d'ineffaçables en quelque lieu qu'ils soient établis?" *

The only objection which can be made to this opinion, arises from ignorance of the manner in which the world was originally peopled; for, according to the notions which are imbibed from infancy, it is difficult to conceive how Ethiopia could have been inhabited before Egypt. It seems, also, much more probable, that any tribes who migrated from Arabia would have occupied Egypt long before they were induced to pass over the Red Sea into Africa. But the remarks of Volney, with respect to the features and hair of the ancient Egyptians, are confirmed by the remains of their painting and sculpture; and Diodorus Siculus relates that the Ethiopians considered themselves more ancient than the Egyptians, and asserted that the latter sprung from an Ethiopian colony which had been led into Egypt by Osiris. †

* Volney, Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, vol. i. p. 74.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. c. 2, 3.

This was the opinion of Bruce, and it is further supported by Dr. A. Murray, who sums up his arguments in these words: —

"But the points which have been attempted to be proved from the preceding arguments are precisely these:

"Egypt was not peopled from Arabia, as is commonly believed; for,

"1. The Coptic and Arabic languages are radically different, and were so in the days of Abraham.

"2. The religion of Egypt (as has been shown elsewhere) is older than the days of Joseph; and bears internal marks of having been the native product of that country.

"3. Egypt was peopled from south to north, from the Thebaid; for the Delta, that part of Egypt contiguous to Arabia, seems to have been originally uninhabitable, except a small space about the extremities of the marsh; and history assures us, that the inhabitants of Upper Egypt descended and drained the country.

"4. It is improbable that an Arabian colony under Misrim (a word which does not signify

If, also, the Egyptian language contributed in any degree to the formation of the Greek, it could not have been Arabic, or one of its cognate dialects; because not an Arabic word can now be found in Greek, and the grammatical structure of the two languages is radically dissimilar. Probability, therefore, seems to establish the Arabian peopling of Egypt, but physiognomy and perhaps language lead to a contrary conclusion.

Could it, however, be proved that the Coptic was the ancient language of Egypt, this circumstance might be extricated from the obscurity in which it is at present involved; for l'Abbé Barthélemy has remarked, — "Nous avons donc entre nos mains la véritable langue des Egyptiens, et tandis que le moindre monument de ce peuple célèbre occupe depuis deux siècles les antiquaires, tandis que d'intrépides grammairiens ont dépensé beaucoup d'esprit et de temps à développer les autres langues, on a presque entièrement négligé celle où une nation éclairée, ancienne et puissante, a déposé la plus grande partie de ses idées."* But the preservation of a language, not cultivated nor committed to books, for nearly 1500 years, and while the country was occupied by three distinct races of conquerors, is so contrary to probability as to require the most full and satisfactory evidence, in order to render such a circumstance in the least degree credible. That a number of ancient Egyptian words may exist in Coptic is possible, and a collection of them might enable the philologist to determine the affinity which that tongue bears to other languages †: but, as it is

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a man, but two kingdoms,) would have crossed Syria from Babylon by the Isthmus of Suez, and wandered as far south as Thebes to found its first settlement." — *Bruce's Travels*, 8vo ed. vol. ii. p. 479.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xxxii. p. 218, 219.

† "Le langage est un autre monument dont les indications ne sont pas moins justes ni moins instructives. Celui dont usaient ci-devant les Coptes, s'accorde à constater les faits que j'établis. D'un côté, la forme de leurs lettres et la majeure partie de leurs mots, démontrent que la nation Grecque, dans un séjour de mille ans, a imprimé fortement son empreinte sur l'Egypte; mais d'autre part, l'alphabet Copte a cinq lettres, et le dictionnaire beaucoup de mots qui sont comme les débris et les restes de l'ancien Egyptien." — *Volney, Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, vol. i. p. 77.

admitted that numerous Greek and Arabic words occur in Coptic, in what manner can their origin be proved; or can it be shown, whether the Egyptians received them from the Greeks and Arabs, or the contrary? for the present grammatical structure of the Coptic cannot be admitted as a proof, until some writing anterior to the time of Cambyses is produced, and it is there found to be exactly the same.*

But, whatever may have been the ancient language of the Egyptians, it seems incontrovertible that they differed essentially from the Arabs and Syrians in customs, institutions, and religion; and, consequently, that, if Egypt were peopled from Arabia, it must have received its civilisation from some other country. The very brief accounts which ancient writers have given of the Arabs and Syrians, do not afford the means of drawing any detailed comparison between them and the Egyptians; but this very circumstance proves that there must have been some peculiarity in the polity of the latter, which so much attracted the attention of strangers. The cause of that peculiarity has, in later times, been discovered in India, where the same system of civil and religious institutions, in their essential principles, prevails at the present day; the same division into casts, the same objects of worship, the same form of government so intimately connected with religion and subservient to the pre-eminence of the priesthood †, strongly attest that systems so similar must have been derived from one and the same origin. The universal belief, also, of the Greeks that their gods were the same as those of the Egyptians, and their thus considering Egypt as the source of their religion, while they derived their letters from Phenicia, evince that they regarded the two countries

* Dr. A. Murray is, however, of opinion that "the Coptic is an original tongue, for it derives all its indeclinable words and particles from radicals pertaining to itself. Its verbs are declined from its own resources. There is no mixture of any foreign language in its composition except Greek, which is easily distinguished, and as easily accounted for."—*Bruce's Travels*, 8vo ed. vol. ii. p. 473.

† The sanctity of the cow may be added: but in mentioning this circumstance Herodotus is evidently inconsistent; for he restricts this sanctity to the female, and states that the male was sacrificed and eaten. But Apis and Mneves were bulls, and he himself relates that it was repugnant to the customs of the Egyptians to eat the flesh of any of their sacred animals.

in a different point of view. Nothing, in fact, can be found in ancient writers which in the least assimilates the Arabians and Syrians to the Egyptians, and the latter, therefore, must, if not in origin, at least in civilisation, be considered as belonging to a distinct family of mankind.

But it seems obvious, from their distance and relative position, that India could not have commu cated her institutions to Egypt; and, as I presume no argument will be founded on the conquests of Osiris and Sesostris, that India could not have received them from Egypt. Some intermediate country, therefore, must have existed, by means of which this communication was effected; and Babylonia immediately presents itself as the only one which, from its acknowledged antiquity, its centrical situation, and the power of the Assyrian empire, could have introduced its customs, laws, and religion into other countries at an early period of the world. For this purpose, however, conquest was not indispensable, but merely the migration of colonies; and if the first men inhabited this country, which seems very probable, the tide of population must have necessarily flowed to the west and the east. Nor, in so fruitful a country, is it necessary to suppose that these colonies would branch off until numbers began to press on the means of subsistence; nor until, therefore, a considerable degree of civilisation had been attained: and, consequently, the colonists would have carried with them a knowledge of the civil and religious institutions of their country. This supposition is not, I believe, in contradiction to any thing contained in ancient writers, excepting these words of Diodorus Siculus:—"The Egyptians say that after this many colonies from Egypt were spread over the world; one of these Belus, the reputed son of Neptune and Libya, led to Babylon, which is situated on the river Euphrates, and established the priests, whom the Babylonians call Chaldean, and whom he exempted, according to the Egyptian custom, from taxes and public burdens."* But Brucker observes that, "Although the Egyptians contended with the Chaldeans respecting their antiquity, and maintained that Chaldea was a colony of Egypt,

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 28.

and therefore boasted that they were the parents and teachers of all that learning for which the Chaldeans had become so famous; yet the testimony of the ancients, agreeing with what is related of the origin of the most ancient nations, proves that the kingdom of Babylon flourished before the monarchy of Egypt, and that the Chaldeans were not in any manner indebted for their learning to the Egyptians."* The contrary may, therefore, appear most probable; and the civilisation of Egypt and the establishment of its peculiar frame of government may be with much justice ascribed to Babylonia.

* Historia Critica Philosophiæ, vol. i. p. 102.

CHAP. V.

ON THE SCYTHIANS.

In proceeding to consider the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages, I find my progress impeded by the opinions of several learned men, who ascribe their origin either to the Celtic or Scythic. For Wachter, *in Epilogo Glossarii sui*, observes,—"Qui linguam Celticam tanquam matrem Germanicæ suspiciunt, sequuntur opinionem valde verisimilem, et longi temporis traditione comprobatam, ut de rei ipsius testimonio nunc nihil dicam. Verum dum iidem Græca omnia, quamvis manifesto similia, fastidiunt, et ad fortuitas allusiones rejiciunt, causam bonam male tuentur, et veram linguæ Celticæ faciem aut ignorare aut dissimulare videntur, nam lingua Celtica Græcæ adeo similis est, semperque fuit ab omni retro memoria, ut ovum ovo similius esse non possit. Hujus similitudinis documenta præbent innumeræ voces Celticæ, quæ partim ab historicis sunt consignatæ, partim apud Cambro-Britannos hodieque perdurant.....Causa, cur tanta sit inter linguam Celticam et Græcam convenientia, ut major esse non possit, quatuor modis concipi potest. 1. Si lingua Celtica et Græca sint sorores, et filiæ alicujus antiquioris, sive Scythicæ, sive primigeniæ, quorum illud Salmasio, hoc Cluverio, se probavit. Tunc enim manifestum est, cur facies sit non una duabus,

"'Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.'

2. Si omnes Celtæ sint a Græcis orti, quod non dubitavit asseverare Bodinus in Methodo Historiarum. 3. Si Græci voces suas, in quibus est conformitas, acceperint a Celtis, quod multo eruditionis apparatu ostendere conatur Pezronius in Antiquitatibus Celticis. 4. Si omnia Græca sint contagia Celticæ linguæ affricta a commercio Græcorum, qui Massiliam condiderunt, quod contra Bodinum demonstrandum suscepit Cluverius.....Quænam ex tot suppositionibus potissimum assumenda est, ego ignoro, et nostra parum referre puto. Nam ex

dictis abunde manifestum est, si lingua Germanica sit dialectus Celtica qua via, aut quibus hominibus, tot vocabula Græcis similia ad nos pervenerint, quacumque suppositione utamur.

" Pone vero omnia, quæ nobis Celtica videntur, a SCYTHIS profecta esse, ratio igitur reddenda erit, cur tam magnus et incredibilis numerus vocabulorum, quæ non solum sono sed etiam significatu cum Græcis conveniunt, in lingua nostra reperiatur, si Scythicæ originis sit? Nam omnes istas consensiones meras assonantias esse, felices quidem, sed nescio quo casu factas, non placet. Quicquid a summis viris excogitatum est, ad duas rationes principales, *parentelam* et *mixturam*, reduci potest. De parentela ita disserit SALMASIUS in Hellenistica, ut linguam Scythicam Græcæ et Germanicæ matrem fuisse ostendat.... Atqui si veritati consentaneum est, Scythicam linguam esse Gothicæ parentem, et Græcæ sororem, quî fieri potest, ut neptis materteræ omnino dissimilis sit? Merito igitur JUNIUS in quæstione de ortu vocabulorum, Græcam dictionem, quoties nostram refert, nobis pro etymo ostendit. Nam hanc ostendisse, satis magnificum est, quoniam in illa tanquam speculo Scythicæ vocis imaginem, nullis literis proditam, quodammodo contemplari possumus. Altera similitudinis causa peti potest a *mixtura*. Nota est Scytharum et Græcorum ab ultimis inde temporibus vicinitas, nota etiam commercia.... Hac via multa Græcos a Scythis, multa Scythas a Græcis accepisse et propagasse, judicat Salmasius.... Quod si pro vero accipiatur (et nihil accipere vetat), consequens est, fines utriusque linguæ tam esse permixtos, ut hodie amplius discerni non possint."

He observes in another place, — " Hanc utriusque [Persicæ et Germanicæ] linguæ harmoniam, quæ omnibus temporibus doctissimos viros stuporem rapuit, si quis casu factam contendat, næ ille parum hărmonice factus est. * Non equidem hoc volo, ut Germaniam a Perside, vel hanc ab illa, voces suas accepisse existimetis, sed ut similia ad similes et communes ortus mecum redigatis, matricem inquam SCYTHICAM, nobilem sane, et utrique genti convenientem. Scythas enim non

* See p. 154. of this work, where the supposed identity of the Persian and German languages is examined.

solum in Europa (quod supra demonstravi), sed etiam in Asia, genus et linguam suam proseminasse, multa nobis persuadent." *

But who were these Scythians, and what language did they speak? On these points the opinions of all writers, except Pinkerton, are vague, inconsistent, and unsatisfactory. He, however, gravely states, —"From these smaller lights, compared with Trogus or Justin, it will appear as evident as so remote an event can well be, that the Scythian empire was the first of which any memory has reached us. And it is a plausible opinion, adopted by late mythologists, that Saturn, Jupiter, Bacchus, &c., were monarchs of this first empire, whose glorious actions procured them honours from their subjects after their death. This empire was perfectly barbaric, and the seat of war not of arts. All nations, save the Egyptians, were then pastoral, and the Scythians, as described by Herodotus, on the Euxine were certainly more advanced in society than when holding the empire of Asia; for agriculture was then known to one or two nations of them, which there is no room to think they knew at all in their first empire. The wandering state of pastoral society will at once account for so many of the Scythæ leaving their dominions, on the Assyrian conquest, that eastern tradition reported the dispersion of men to have followed that event. But, no doubt, vast numbers still remained in Persia. Herodotus and Diodorus only mention the Scythæ Nomades of the north of Persia to have past the Araxes; and the Scythæ in the south remained, and were ever known by the name of Persians, as at this day.... We have already seen that the Scythian empire, in present Persia, is the most ancient of which history has preserved any memorial. This curious subject shall not be here enlarged upon, but is left to some future historian of the Scythians. This empire seems to have extended from Egypt to the Ganges, and from the Persian Gulph and Indian Sea to the Caspian." †

* Wachteri Glossarium, in præfatio.

† Pinkerton's dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, p. 27. 32.

But no authorities are quoted for this elaborate description of the primeval Scythian empire commencing before 3660 B. C.; and, although the name of history is made use of, I know no historian from whom it could be taken, except Annius of Viterbo.

But, that the Scythians were even known in the time of Homer, depends entirely on the meaning which is given to these lines, the only ones to be found in his two immortal poems, which have ever, I believe, been applied to these people,

Μυσων τ' αγχεμαχων, και αγαυων Ἱππημολγων,
Γγακτοφαγων, Αβιων τε δικαιοτατων ανθρωπων.

Strabo has given an interesting criticism on these verses, and maintains that Homer must have been acquainted with the Scythians*; but his arguments are founded on circumstances of too general a nature to admit of any pastoral people being identified by them. The two verses, also, preceding these,

Αυτος δε παλιν τρεπεν οσσε φαεινω,
Νοσφιν εφ' ἱπποπολων Θρηκων καθορωμενος αιαν.

would seem to prove sufficiently that the Ἱππημολγοι, Γλακτοφαγοι, and Αβιοι must have been a Thracian people, and Strabo himself contends that the Μυσοι were Thracians. It therefore follows, that Herodotus is the earliest ancient writer who has given any account of the Scythians, and he expressly declares, Ὡς δε Σκυθαι λεγουσι, νεωτατον απαντων εθνεων ειναι το σφετερον†; and he adds, that the Scythians were of opinion that exactly one thousand years had elapsed from Targitaus, their first king, until their country was invaded by Darius, about 500 years before Christ.

To oppose, consequently, to the authority of Herodotus, such a writer as Justin, who hesitates not to assert, that "his igitur argumentis superatis Egyptiis, antiquiores semper Scythæ visi," can proceed only from the spirit of hypothesis: but, were even the very imperfect notices which he has given of the Scythians not contradicted by other writers (as in the instance of his stating, "His (Scythis) igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalia fuit,") to be considered as entitled to any attention, in what manner could the country

* Strabo, ed. Amstel. p. 298. et seq. † Herod. lib. iv. c. 15.

which they inhabited be determined by such a geographical description as this, " Scythia autem in Orientem porrecta includitur ab uno latere Ponto, et ab altero montibus Riphæis, a tergo Asia et Phasi flumine?" The only event, also, mentioned by Justin, the date of which can be ascertained, is stated in these words, " Pendendi tributi (Scythis) finem Ninus rex Assyriorum imposuit." But Ninus flourished, according to the received system of chronology, 1267 years before Christ*; and, consequently, if the Scythians had held the dominion of Asia for 1500 years previously, their empire must have commenced one hundred years before the flood. Mr. Pinkerton, indeed, asserts that the Scythians made an attack on Egypt in the year 3660 B.C.

All discussions, at the same time, respecting the Scythians are rendered obscure and perplexed, in consequence of both ancient and modern writers employing the words *Scythia* and *Scythians* in so vague and indefinite a manner, that it is scarcely ever possible to determine what particular country or people is intended, whenever these terms are used without qualification. But the opinion entertained by Herodotus on this point is thus explained by Rennell:—" The country of Scythia he (Herodotus) places next in order to Thrace, going northeastward along the shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. *Where Thrace ends Scythia begins,* says he, Melp. 99. It will appear, however, that the Scythians of Herodotus were the Sarmatæ and Getæ of the Romans; and his Massagetæ the Scythians of the same people, as well as of the Greeks in general, from the date of Alexander's expedition..... The ancients distinguished two countries by the name of Scythia, the one extending along the north of the Euxine, the other beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes..... The Western, or Euxine Scythia, was the one invaded by Darius Hystaspes; on which occasion the Ionians, by preserving his bridge of boats on the Danube, secured his retreat; and the Eastern Scythia, called also the country of the Massagetæ, was the one invaded by Cyrus; in which, according to our author as well as Justin and Diodorus, he lost his life..... So that the *proper* Scythians of Hero-

* But, according to other systems, 2127 B.C.

dotus were those at the Euxine; and those of succeeding writers at the Caspian (or rather Aral) and Jaxartes." *

It deserves, also, to be observed, that if a line be drawn from the western extremity of the Euxine along its southern shores due east to Mons Imaus, and thence along that mountain to the Gulf of Bengal, it will divide Asia into two perfectly distinct parts. For to the south of this line are situated Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Armenia, Persia, and Hindustan; all which countries have been known to history from the remotest antiquity, and, therefore, respecting their early progress in civilisation no doubt can be entertained. Their languages, also, remain at this day, in all probability, radically the same as they were spoken more than three thousand years ago. But, to the north of the line just mentioned, the country continues even to the present times almost a *terra incognita*. Nothing more is known of it than that it has been inhabited from time immemorial by nomadic tribes, distinguished by the manners and customs peculiar to their mode of life. But not a single circumstance has ever been discovered which evinces that these people had made the smallest progress in civilisation; or that they ever were qualified to communicate a cultivated language, civil institutions, and a religious system, to other nations. On the contrary, the devastations and barbarity which have always attended, in later times, the invasions of Tartar hordes, may be received as a very strong presumption that such would inevitably have been the consequences of similar invasions at a more remote period.

Leibnitz, however, observes, " Sane si ratum est homines Europæ ex Oriente quasi solis motum secutos venisse; apparet hominum examina instar sacri veris, ex Scythia progressa, Tanai, Istroque transmissis, partim in occidentem, id est in Illyricum, Pannoniam, Germaniamque penetrasse, unde tandem in Italiam, Galliam, Hispaniam progressi sunt posteri; partim ad meridiem flexos in Thraciam, Macedoniam Græciamque vertisse: ubi serius ex Phœnicia et Egypto coloniæ supervenere; unde litteræ Græcorum Phœniciis, sacra etiam Egyptiis,

* Rennell's Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 46, 47.

debentur. Sed Scythæ fundamentum (ut sic dicam) jecere gentis Græcorum, ut Celtæ Italorum. Scytharum nomine hoc loco perantiquos Euxini maris accolas intelligimus, quocunque nomine venerint. Cimmerios illic Homerus* collocavit, hos a Scythis Herodotus distinxit." †

But, adopting the name of Scythians in this restricted sense, it is obvious that between them and the rest of Europe were interposed the numerous and far extended people of Thracia; and that, until they had conquered or displaced them, the Scythians could not have exerted any influence over the languages and civilisation of Europe. Of this objection most writers seem to be aware, and they therefore attempt to prove, either that Thracia was occupied by the Scythians, or that the Thracians were the same people as the latter. But, if this last supposition be admitted, it seems evident that the term Scythian, the use of which is derived from Herodotus, ought to be discontinued; because he distinguishes most clearly the Thracians from the Scythians, and even ascribes an Asiatic origin to the latter; for he expressly says, *Εστι δε και αλλος λογος εχων ωδε· τω μαλιστα λεγομενω αυτος προσκειμαι· Σκυθας τους νομαδας, οικεοντας εν τη Ασιη, πολεμω πεισθεντες ὑπο Μασσαγετεων, οιχεσθαι διαβαντες ποταμον Αραξεα επι γην την Κιμμεριην· την γαρ νυν νεμονται Σκυθαι, αυτη λεγεται τοπαλαιον ειναι Κιμμεριων.* ‡ It is, however, impossible to learn from subsequent writers any further circumstances respecting these Scythians, than what has been related by Herodotus; or even, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any particulars respecting the eastern part of the country, which he represents them to have inhabited.

* The words of Homer are,

Ηδ' ες πειραθ' ικανε βαθυρροου Ωκεανοιο·
Ενθαδε Κιμμεριων ανδρων δημος τε, πολις τε,
Ηερι και νεφελῃ κεκαλυμμενοι· ουδε ποτ' αυτους
Ηελιος φαεθων επιδερκεται ακτινεσσιν,
Ουδ' οποτ' αν στειχῃσι προς ουρανον αστεροεντα,
Ουθ' οταν αψ επι γαιαν απ' ουρανοθεν προτραπηται·
Αλλ' επι νυξ ολοη τεταται δειλοισι βροτοισι.

† Leibnitii Opera omnia, vol. iv. p. 189.

‡ Herod. lib. iv. c. 11.

If, however, the other opinion is adopted, it will perhaps be urged that it was anterior to the time of Herodotus that the Euxine Scythians introduced their language, manners, and religion into Europe. In this case, being deserted by all authority, the hypothesis must depend entirely on its own internal probability, and on any collateral circumstances that may have an unforced tendency to support it. But whence and at what time did these Scythians come and establish themselves on the Euxine * ? and on what grounds is it assumed that they were, twelve or thirteen hundred years before Christ, so numerous and powerful as to effect the conquests enumerated by Leibnitz ? Until, however, these questions are satisfactorily answered, it must seem utterly improbable that a people who had attained no further stage of civilisation than that described by Herodotus, and who were divided into a number of distinct and widely dispersed tribes, could possibly have exerted any influence whatever over the nations of Europe. Nor, had they ever conquered other countries, and introduced into them their language and manners, can any cause be assigned, which could have prevented some traces at least of such important changes from having been preserved until the time of Herodotus. But, on the contrary, he carefully distinguishes the Euxine Scythians from the neighbouring people, and expressly declares, Ὁ δε ποντος ὁ Ευξεινος, εφ' ὁν εστρατευετο Δαρειος, χωρεων παντεων παρεχεται, εξω του Σκυθικου, εθνεα αμαθεστατα· ουτε γαρ εθνος εντος του Ποντου ουδεν εχομεν προβαλεσθαι σοφιης περι, ουτε ανδρα λογιον οιδαμεν γενομενον παρεξ του Σκυθικου εθνεος, και Αναχαρσις. And he further remarks, Ξεινικοισι νομαιοισι και ουτοι (οἱ Σκυθαι) αινως χρασθαι φευγουσι, μη τι

* Jornandes, indeed, says, " Ex hac igitur Scanzia insula quasi officina gentium, aut certe velut vagina nationum, Gothi quondam memorantur egressi .... Hæc igitur pars Gothorum, quæ apud Filimer, dicitur in terras Ovim emenso amne transposita, optatum potita solum. Nec mora, ilico ad gentem Spalorum adveniunt, consertoque prælio, victoriam adipiscuntur: exindeque jam veluti victores ad extremam Scythiæ partem, quæ Pontico Mari vicina est, properant: quemadmodum et in priscis eorum carminibus, pene historico ritu, in commune recolitur: quod et Ablabius descriptor Gothorum gentis egregius verissima adtestatur historia." — *Jornandes de Reb. Get.* cap. iv.

But Leibnitz himself observes, " Ego Jornandis autoritatem non plane contemno, etsi non semper tutam fatear, præsertim in remotis, nec satis cohærentia narrare deprehendam." — *Opera omnia*, vol. iv. p. 196.

γε των αλλήλων, Ἑλληνικοισι δε και ηκιστα ὡς διεδεξαν Αναχαρσις τε και δευτερα αυτις Σκυθης. *

The reasoning of Leibnitz, in opposition to such authority and to such arguments as irresistibly proceed from it, must be admitted to be altogether improbable and inconclusive. "Contra Germanos," says he, "cum ab oriente utique huc venerint, ex Scythia potius et Ponti Euxini vicinia ad Danubium Rhenumque venisse, vel ideo credibilius est quod certis testimoniis veterum constat in illis regionibus olim habitasse Germanicas gentes. † Quin etsi deesset antiquorum autoritas, tamen res ipsa quod dicimus comprobaret. Nam ante pauca adhuc cum Genuenses in Taurica dominarentur, illic habitabant Germani, et vix ante seculum quoque Germanicæ reliquiæ in eadem religione superstites memorantur. Et licet hodie fortasse nulla amplius ad Pontum Euxinum supersint vestigia Germanorum, non magis quam in Finnonia, et rerum conversionibus nihil novum sit stirpitus tandem evelli veteres colonos, MULTUM TAMEN INTEREST INTER EA, QUÆ COMPROBANTUR NON MINUS QUAM DICUNTUR, ET EA QUÆ DICUNTUR TANTUM; ITEMQUE INTER MIGRATIONES SEDESQUE, QUARUM DIU ADHUC SUPERFUERE INDICIA, ET EAS QUARUM NEC EXTAT MEMORIA, NEC RELIQUIÆ ALIQUANDO EXTITISSE MEMORANTUR.... Quod si ergo Germanicæ gentes prius ad Tanaim et Euxinum Pontum, vicinaque in Scythia habitavere, quam in Finnonia et Suecia, cuivis jam æstimandum relinquo, utrum factu crediuque sit facilius, a Tanai ad Danubium Albimque et Rhenum rectissimo apertissimoque, quin etiam commodissimo usitatissimoque itinere ventum fuisse, quam omne genus Germanicum mirificis anfractibus per Sarmatiam ad Finnones, atque inde vel per Lapponas vel per Botnicum mare ad Suecos, atque hinc demum in Germaniam nostram fuisse traductum. Ut nesciam an quicquam ab omni specie veri alienius fingi possit." ‡ But after the very just remarks of Leibnitz, in the preceding quotation, which are printed in capital

* Herod. lib. iv. c. 46. 76.

† But not a single ancient writer, that I am acquainted with, has made such an assertion; and the writers of the Ancient Universal History quote no other authority for it than that of Jornandes.

‡ Leibnitii Opera omnia, vol. iv. p. 201, 202.

letters, any further observations on this hypothesis must be unnecessary.

To this system, at the same time, there is one insuperable objection, which its supporters do not seem to have thought it requisite to obviate. For, previous to these migrations of the Euxine Scythians, was Europe peopled, or was it not? The first of these suppositions is not, I believe, maintained by any writer; and, in the latter case, as the Thracians, from the days of Homer, have been represented by all ancient authors as a numerous, powerful, and warlike people, in what manner were they conquered by the Scythians, and nevertheless continued to preserve a distinct name and a distinct character from the earliest dawn of tradition and history? * The impossibility of satisfactorily accounting, on the hypothesis of Leibnitz, for these remarkable and undeniable circumstances, has induced some writers to attempt identifying the Scythians and Thracians as the same people: but their arguments are necessarily founded on mere conjecture, because the concurrent authority of ancient authors most clearly proves the contrary. † In the place, therefore, of authority and argument, these writers produce nothing but groundless assertion; and thus the refutation of their opinion is rendered not only irksome but unsatistory, as there are no first principles by which the extravagancy of an hypothesis can be conclusively demonstrated.

Of this opinion the latest maintainer is, I believe, Dr. Jamieson; but the only reasons which he assigns in support of it are the following: "The Thracians were of Scythic origin. As the Mosaic designation Gomer seems to be retained in that of Cimmerii, Cimbri, or Cumri; there is a great probability in the idea generally adopted by the learned, that the Thracians were the posterity of Tiras, or rather

* I am aware, that the exact period when the Thracians extended themselves to the north of the Danube is a doubtful point, and, therefore, this argument would not strictly apply to prove the non-occupation of Germany by the Euxine Scythians; but it incontrovertibly shows that they could not have penetrated into Greece and Italy until they had previously possessed themselves of Thracia.

† To quote authorities on this point must surely be unnecessary; and I will, therefore, content myself by referring generally to Homer, Herodotus, and Strabo.

Thiras, who is last mentioned by the sacred historian among the sons of Japhet. The learned Bochart has observed, that θρᾳξ, the name given by the Greeks to a Thracian, is supposed to be merely Thiras, the Greek Ξ, corresponding to samech of the Phœnicians, and holding its place in the alphabet." * Dr. Jamieson, however, proves satisfactorily that the Getæ were Thracians, and that it is very probable, if not certain, that the Getæ and Goths were the same people: but his reasons for identifying the Getæ with the Scythians are futile and inconclusive; for he argues thus, "That the Getæ and Scythians were the same people is attested by incontrovertible evidence. On the northern side of the Danube, opposite to the territory occupied by the Scythians, and in the angle forming a part of Thrace, there was a small nation in the time of Herodotus, who bore the name of Getæ. But this designation appears to have been the generic name given to various branches of this great people, and most probably assumed by themselves. We accordingly find it conjoined with different prepositive terms, which seem designed to mark its definite application to one race as distinguished from another. Thus we read of the Massa-Getæ, the Thyssa-Getæ, and the Tyro-Getæ; it is obvious Getæ must have been the primary denomination. HERODOTUS speaks of this people, who lived on the opposite side of the Danube, WITHOUT SEEMING TO HAVE SUPPOSED THAT THEY WERE ORIGINALLY THE SAME AS THE SCYTHIANS, CALLING THEM THRACIANS." † But all ancient writers most

* Hermes Scythicus, p. 12.

Gibbon very justly remarks, "Among the nations who have adopted the Mosaic history of the world, the ark of Noah has been of the same use as was formerly to the Greeks and Romans the siege of Troy. On a narrow basis of acknowledged truth, an immense but rude superstructure of fable has been erected; and the wild Irishman, as well as the wild Tartar, could point out the individual son of Japhet from whose sons his ancestors were lineally descended. The last century abounded with antiquarians of profound learning and easy faith, who, by the dim light of legends and traditions, of conjectures and etymologies, conducted the grandchildren of Noah from the tower of Babel to the extremities of the globe."— *Gibbon's Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 350.

† Hermes Scythicus, p. 8.

The idea of a person writing in Edinburgh pretending to correct, without the assistance of other ancient authors, the observations made by Herodotus 3200 years previously, is irresistibly ludicrous; but, however stubborn facts or authorities may be, they must either bend or break if they oppose the hypothesis which any writer may think proper to adopt.

clearly distinguish the Getæ from the Massagetæ, by placing them in countries widely remote from each other. On Dr. Jamieson's own verbal argument, also, the primitive word must undoubtedly have existed first; and the race which it was intended to distinguish, by affixing a prepositive term to the common name, must have branched off from some parent stem, before such a distinction could possibly have become requisite. This very argument, therefore, proves the direct contrary of the opinion in support of which it is adduced; for if the Getæ were not Scythians, but Thracians, it necessarily follows that the Thracians also were a distinct people from the Scythians.

If, however, there is no ancient authority whatever, which in the slightest degree proves, or even asserts, that the Euxine Scythians introduced into Europe their language, manners, and religion; and if the very position alone of the country which they inhabited conclusively demonstrates that it precluded them from extending their influence beyond its limits, their real origin is a question of no importance. Whether, therefore, they were autochthones, or the descendants of Magog, or emigrants from Persia, or subjects of the Celtic empire founded by Saturn, or Goths from Scandinavia, is perfectly immaterial: but, to prevent their being identified with the Tartars *, it may be necessary to consider this point; for the derivation of the people, languages, and civilisation of Europe, from the wilds of Tartary, is not one of the least astonishing aberrations of the human mind.

On this point M. Abel Remusat, in his very interesting work, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, observes, "Voilà les Tartares devenus, sous différens noms, les précepteurs des nations et les bien-

* "Les peuples qui habitent ces vastes contrées de la haute Asie, bornées au midi par l'Inde, la Chine, et la Perse, à l'orient par la mer du Japon, à l'occident par les fleuves qui se jettent dans la mer Caspienne et le Pont-Euxin, au nord enfin par la mer Glaciale, sont connus sous le nom vulgaire et collectif de Tartares. .... Quoi qu'il en soit de l'origine de ce nom des Tatars, les Européens, qui l'ont légèrement altéré, s'en servent indifféremment pour désigner une foule de nations à demi civilisées, qui diffèrent beaucoup entre elles, ainsi que la suite de cet ouvrage le fera voir. Dans ce sens, je crois qu'il est bon de conserver à ces nations le nom collectif de *Tartares*, quoique corrompu, préférablement à celui de *Tatârs*, qui paroît plus correct, mais qui appartient à un seul tribu ne doit pas servir à désigner les autres tribus en général."—*Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 1. 3.

faiteurs de l'humanité: ces vastes contrées couvertes des forêts, ou rendues désertes par les sables, que parcourent des tribus de nomades grossiers, les voilà présentées sous un jour nouveau, qui les rend dignes d'être étudiées avec attention..... D'ailleurs, il ne faut pas croire que les idées de Bailly soient entrées dans la tombe avec lui: il y a plusieurs personnes actuellement vivantes qui ont tenté de les reproduire sous des formes variées, et qui se trouveroient peut-être offensées, si l'on décidoit que leurs opinions ne valent pas la peine d'être réfutées."*

This question might be at once decided by the irrefutable testimony of language, could it be determined whether or not a nomadic people would preserve their original language uncorrupted and unchanged from time immemorial. But the wants and ideas of such a people being extremely limited, and their intercourse with other nations being precluded by their peculiar mode of life, there would seem to be no conceivable causes which could produce any alteration in the primeval tongue, after it was once formed. The Bedoweens of Arabia are considered to speak the purest Arabic; and if the purity of a language consists in its not deviating from its original structure, and in its not admitting exotic inflexions or words, it is precisely amongst a nomadic people that such purity might be most reasonably expected to be found. But that the wilds of Tartary have been occupied by the same race of men from the earliest dawn of tradition and history is undeniable; and, consequently, it seems not improbable that the various dialects in use among the Tartars at this day are radically the same as those which were spoken by their ancestors from the remotest antiquity. In this case I may be permitted, from having carefully examined the words contained in Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, and from having been in the habit of using Meninski's Turkish Lexicon †, to observe that not a Tartar word can be identified with any terms contained in the Arabic,

* Recherches, &c. Discours Préliminaire, p. v. ix.

† The Turkish has adopted numerous Arabic and Persian words; but it will, perhaps, be admitted, that a person acquainted with these languages can find no difficulty in distinguishing such words as belong to them from the original Tartar ones.

Persian, Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Celtic, or Teutonic languages, and thence to conclude that it was not from the Tartars that Europe derived either its languages or civilisation. But, on a subject with which I am so slightly acquainted, the reader will no doubt prefer the opinion of a distinguished Oriental scholar, who has made it his particular study. The judicious remarks, therefore, and important conclusions contained in the following quotation, will amply compensate for its unusual length:—

" Essayons maintenant de convertir en observations générales, les faits particuliers rassemblés dans les Recherches qu'on vient de lire, et rappelons des résultats que le lecteur pourroit avoir perdus de vue, afin de fortifier les conclusions que nous croyons être en droit de tirer, en finissant ce volume. Nous osons présenter comme certains les points suivans, qui avoient été jusqu'à présent avancés sans examen, et quelquefois révoqués en doute sans motifs suffisans.

" Dans l'état actuel, les langues de la Tartarie sont au nombre de quatre principales, avec quelques dialectes. Les mots de ces quatre langues, particulièrement ceux qui désignent des objets de première nécessité, et qui constituent le fond des idiomes, sont radicalement différens, et ne se rapprochent non plus d'aucune autre langue connue.

" Les ressemblances qu'on observe entre ces quatre idiomes portent, presque en entier, sur des mots destinés à exprimer des objets d'arts, ou des titres de dignités, ou des idées philosophiques et théologiques; elles attestent les effets d'un mélange produit par le commerce, la guerre, l'influence politique et religieuse. Il en est absolument de même des mots étrangers qui se sont introduits dans les langues de la Tartarie.

" Les différentes écritures qui ont servi à peindre ces langues, ont toutes été apportées du dehors, par l'effet de circonstances dont l'histoire a conservé le souvenir. L'adoption la plus ancienne ne remonte pas au-delà de l'ère Chrétienne.

" Les formes grammaticales sont en petit nombre et peu compliquées. Les rapports des noms s'y marquent par des particules affixes ou post-

positions, sans crase. Les verbes n'ont point en général de conjugaisons. Les temps les plus usités sont impersonnels. La construction est rigoureusement inverse.

" La littérature de tous les peuples Tartares se compose en entier d'emprunts faits, assez récemment, aux nations voisines, aux Chinois, aux Hindous, aux occidentaux. Leurs livres sont des traductions, ou tout au plus des imitations de ceux des peuples policés et agricoles qui habitent les contrées méridionales.. Ce que nous disons ici de la littérature, doits'appliquer à toutes les branches des connoissances humaines, mais en particulier aux idées philosophiques et réligieuses.

" Les conclusions à tirer de ces faits, qui reposent maintenant sur une base inébranlable, seront pour la plupart négatives : dans ces sortes de matières, il est plus ordinaire d'avoir d'anciennes erreurs à combattre, que des vérités nouvelles à établir.

" Aucun ouvrage historique, aucun monument, aucune tradition, chez les Tartares ou chez les nations qui les ont le mieux connus, ne permettent de faire remonter l'état de demi-civilisation ou nous les voyons parvenus à une époque plus ancienne que le 11e. siècle avant notre ère.

" A cette époque, les missionnaires Hindous, établis dans la partie méridionale de la Tartarie, à Khasigar, à Khotan, à Yerkiyang, commençoient à y répandre les premières notions des sciences et des arts. L'écriture indienne, la religion de Bouddhah, les Tibetains, les nomades du nord, n'ont connu tous ces objets que beaucoup plus tard.

" L'opinion qui placeroit en Tartarie le berceau du genre humain avec le peuple primitif, ou ses descendans immédiats, ou la patrie des inventeurs des sciences, de l'astronomie, des alphabets de l'Asie, ou même l'origine des doctrines de l'Hindoustan, de Bouddhah, ou des Hindous eux-mêmes, ou des Chinois, cette opinion non seulement ne repose sur aucun fait positif, mais elle se trouve, à la bien examiner, entièrement inconciliable avec les observations philologiques et les traditions historiques de toutes les nations de l'Asie, à commencer par les Tartares eux-mêmes.

" Le chamanisme n'a pris naissance ni dans la Tartarie, ni, selon

mon opinion, dans la Bactriane. Les Samanéens ont pénétré assez tard dans la première de ces contrées ; ils y ont toujours été étrangers; ils n'en ont jamais converti complétement les habitans. Beaucoup de ceux-ci sont restés attachés à leur culte primitif, qui est le plus simple de tous les cultes, l'adoration du Ciel visible et des Esprits, avec différentes pratiques superstitieuses.

" Enfin (et ceci, ne tenant qu'indirectement à l'objet de ces Recherches, mériteroit d'être examiné dans un ouvrage à part), les religions qui ont eu cours dans la Tartarie, n'avoient pas, non plus que l'art d'écrire, pris naissance dans les contrées du nord. Le samaneisme, ou bouddhisme primitif, la philosophie de Confucius, le magisme, le manicheisme, le nestorianisme, le musulmanisme, le lamisme enfin, ou le bouddhisme réformé, y ont été successivement introduits, à-peu-près dans l'ordre où je viens de les nommer, et cet ordre est quelque chose de bien important à constater ; car, si c'est pour nous une question historique de pure curiosité, que de savoir si Bouddhah est né dans l'Hindoustan ou dans le Tibet, ou si l'alphabet Devanagari a été inventé sur les bords du Gange ou dans les montagnes d'Altaï, c'en est une de conséquence que de déterminer à qui appartient la priorité, dans les traits de ressemblance incontestable qui s'observent entre la discipline et la hiérarchie des Lamas et celles de l'Eglise Romaine. Cette question, au reste, ne sauroit embarrasser une personne qui nous aura suivis dans nos Recherches, ou qui saura remonter aux sources où nous avons puisé.

" Ainsi tout ce qui, chez les Tartares, est au-dessus de ces premières notions qui distinguent l'homme de la brute, leur est venu, à des époques connues, de leur communication avec d'autres nations plus instruites. Quatre ou cinq familles se sont répandues et multipliées sur d'immenses espaces. Les hommes qui en sont sortis ont fait quelques efforts pour s'éclairer ; ils ont cultivé quelques sciences, mais ils n'en ont inventé aucune. Ils n'ont été ni tout-à-fait aussi grossiers que le supposoit Voltaire, ni, à beaucoup près, aussi savans que l'imaginoient Buffon et Bailly. Nous sommes donc obligés d'en revenir, au sujet de ces nations, à l'idée que nous en ont donnée les premiers auteurs qui

en ont parlé, les voyageurs du moyen âge, les écrivains orientaux, les missionnaires en Chine, Bergeron, Deguignes, Deshauteraies, Mosheim, Lequien, les deux Muller, Bayer, et tant d'autres. Ces conclusions sont loin d'être aussi brillantes que les hypothèses par lesquelles on a cherché à suppléer à la connoissance précise des faits, tant qu'on a cru impossible de l'acquérir; mais il n'est pas inutile de les reproduire, puisqu'elles ont été plusieurs fois contestées par des écrivains systématiques. On avoit trop compté sur le défaut de monumens, sur le vague et l'obscurité des traditions. L'antiquité de la haute Asie étoit en quelque sorte la région des hypothèses. On en connoîtra la futilité, et l'on s'instruira suffisamment sur l'histoire de la Tartarie, quand on voudra la chercher dans les écrivains Chinois, que nous l'ont conservée. Quelque peu détaillés que soient les renseignemens qu'ils nous fournissent, c'est toujours apprendre quelque chose, que de déterminer précisément jusqu'où l'on peut apprendre, et même de s'assurer qu'on n'a rien à apprendre du tout; mais cette ignorance ne s'acquiert qu'avec peine, et la fausse science coûte beaucoup moins. Rien n'est plus facile que de jeter au hasard des suppositions sur le papier, et d'annoncer avec mystère qu'on pourra les soutenir un jour. Il faut ensuite des volumes pour réfuter une seule parole de ce genre; c'est donc rendre quelque service aux sciences historiques que de dissiper les ténèbres qui couvrent certaines parties de leur domaine, et où l'imagination se joue en liberté. Resserrer le champ de l'erreur, c'est, en quelque sorte, agrandir celui de la verité." *

But it is much to be regretted that M. Abel Remusat should have published this work before he had collected and fully considered all the materials which he deemed necessary for its completion; because he has, perhaps inadvertently, admitted into it the following two passages, which tend strongly to invalidate the very conclusive remarks contained in the preceding quotation: for he states, " Les faits que j'ai rassemblés sur ces dernières sont assez nombreux, et assez positivement énoncés dans les écrivains Chinois, pour qu'il ne reste aucun doute à cet égard: et quelque paradoxale que paroisse cet assertion, je

* Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, p. 394.

crois qu'il demeurera prouvé que la famille des nations Gothiques a jadis occupé de grands espaces en Tartarie: que plusieurs de ses branches ont habité dans la Transoxane, et jusques dans les montagnes d'Altaï, et qu'elles y ont été bien connus des peuples de l'Asie orientale, lesquels ne pouvoient manquer d'être frappés de la singularité de leurs langues, de leurs chevelures blondes, de leurs yeux bleus, de la blancheur de leur teint, signes si remarkables au milieu des hommes basanés, aux yeux bruns, et aux cheveux noirs, qui les ont définitivement remplacés. On jugera si ce que j'advance est trop hasardé, quand on aura lu les preuves que j'ai recueillies. Mais quoi qu'on puisse en penser, on se rappellera, j'espère, que j'ai seulement voulu dire que des nations Gothiques ont eu des établissemens dans le centre de la Tartarie, et nullement que *les Gothes en fussent originaires.* Une critique malveillante un peu éclairée pourroit seule me prêter une opinion qui, si je l'émettois sans la soutenir de preuves nombreuses, seroit à bon droit qualifiée d'absurdité."* In another place, however, he observes, "La race Gothique d'une part, et la race Turke de l'autre, ont précédé de plusieurs siècles, dans leur conversion au bouddhisme, les Mongols et les Tongous, situés trop loin à l'orient, de la contrée où la communication est possible entre la Tartarie et l'Inde. LAISSONS À D'AUTRES LE SOIN D'EXAMINER LES EFFETS DE CETTE COMMUNICATION PAR RAPPORT AUX NATIONS GOTHIQUES."†

It will be obvious that these two passages are apparently inconsistent with the opinion which M. Abel Remusat has stated in the conclusion of his work. It will, therefore, be necessary that he should either retract this very questionable account of the Goths having been settled at some remote period in Tartary, and of their having been converted to Buddhism; or that, after having satisfactorily proved this singular circumstance by other authority than that of Chinese writers, he should modify his present conclusions by distinctly pointing out the influence which this Tartaro-Gothic people exerted over the population, civilisation, and religion of Europe. But it cannot have escaped the author, that if Buddhism was introduced into Tartary a short time only before

* Recherches, &c. Discours Préliminaire, p. xiv. † Ibid. p. 289.

the Christian era, and that if these Tartaro-Goths were converted to this religion, their subsequent migration from Tartary must have occurred at a highly enlightened period of the world; and, consequently, if no trace of such an event can be found in ancient authors, not even in Jornandes, their silence, though negative testimony, will, in the opinion of most persons, be considered as sufficient to disprove any accounts of it which may be produced from Chinese writers. It would be also necessary to show that Tartar words exist in some one of the Gothic dialects; for, otherwise, whatever may have become of these Tartaro-Goths, if they ever existed, it must appear highly improbable that they ever returned to Europe. The introduction, however, of Buddhism into Tartary having taken place eight or nine centuries after the poems of Homer were written, and consequently after the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages were formed, as is so clearly proved by the Sanscrit words that exist in them, any migrations from Tartary at so comparatively recent a period deserve not consideration in investigating the origin and affinity of nations and languages.

CHAP. VI.

THE CELTIC LANGUAGE.

Pelloutier commences his history of the Celts with these words:— "Les Celtes ont été connus anciennement sous le nom général de Scythes." Wachter observes,—"Nunc ordo tangit Celtas, utpote Scythis et Phrygibus ætate inferiores, nec ante Bellum Trojanum auditos. Nam primis temporibus floruit nomen Scythicum, deinde innotuit Phrygium, Phrygio successit Celticum....Phryges olim vastissimum imperium tenuisse, et coloniis suis non solum partem Asiæ, sed etiam Græciam, Thraciam, et totum pene occidentem occupasse, illustris Abbas Pezronius in Antiquitatibus Celticis tanto argumentorum copia et perspicuitate demonstravit, ut difficile sit illud negare."* But Pinkerton maintains, "that the Scythians were neither Celts, Sarmatians, nor Tartars, no more than a horse is an elephant, a lion, or a tiger, but a horse; so the Scythians were Scythians, a distinct, peculiar, and marked people."† It is, however, singular that the supporters of the Celtic and Gothic hypotheses should both concur in deriving the population and languages of Europe from a people respecting whom Pelloutier very justly observes,—"Les Celtes descendent véritablement des Scythes, c'est-à-dire, d'un peuple sauvage et barbare, qui n'avoit encore, aucune connoissance des avantages que l'homme peut tirer de son industrie, ou du pays qu'il habite."‡ But I have, perhaps, evinced in the preceding chapter that, if either the Celts or Goths were Scythians, it could not be from them that Europe received its inhabitants and civilisation. Whether, however, the Goths were Scythians will be examined in the ninth chapter. In this, therefore, I shall con-

* Wachteri Glossarium, in præfatio.

† Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, preface, p. vii.

‡ Histoire des Celtes, vol. i. p. 123.

fine myself to a consideration of the Celtic hypothesis, the discussion of which is rendered at least more tangible than the Scythian; because sufficient remains of the Celtic tongue have been preserved, as must clearly demonstrate whether or not it has an affinity to any other language: for, if its examination on rational, and not Celtic, principles clearly proves that no such affinity exists, it must necessarily follow that Europe is not indebted to a Celtic people for its population and languages. By such means alone, it must be obvious, since there is no authority of any kind which supports the pretensions of the Celtic people to a remote antiquity, can this point be satisfactorily decided. In the following remarks, therefore, historical researches must be exchanged for the uninviting examination of etymological affinities.*

To a person, however, who approaches, free from all prejudice, the much disputed question respecting the origin of the Celts, and the country which they may have primitively or subsequently inhabited, it must appear passing strange how such a difference of opinion could ever have arisen; for no one, in the least acquainted with ancient authors, will deny the justness of these remarks of Adelung: — "The ancient Greeks knew nothing more of these people than that they lived in the west; and they were so uncritical as to include among the Celts all the people who lived in the west, from the Oder to the mouth of the Tagus, and consequently to consider them all as belonging to one branch of the same stem.† The Romans did not fail to avail themselves of the better opportunity which they had of distinguishing these

* I ought, perhaps, to observe, that I do not possess any knowledge of this language, and that the opinion which I have formed respecting it is founded entirely on a careful examination of the Dictionaries of Bullet, Cour de Gebelin, Davies, and O'Brien. I have not been able to procure Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, but Adelung describes it as having no other merit than that of having been copied from the good Irish Dictionary of O'Brien.

† To the same purpose, Strabo, in the following passage: — Φημι γαρ κατα την των αρχαιων Ἑλληνων δοξαν, ὡσπερ τα προς Βορραν μερη τα γνωριμα ἐνι ονοματι Σκυθας εκαλουν, η Νομαδας, ὡς Ὁμηρος· ὑστερον δε και των προς Ἑσπεραν γνωθεντων, Κελτοι, και Ιβηρες, και συμμικτως Κελτιβηρες, και Κελτοσκυθαι προσηγορευοντο, ὑφ' ἑν ονομα των καθεκαστα εθνων ταττομενων δια την ἀγνοιαν.— *Strabo*, ed. Amstel. p. 33.

people from one another, according to their customs, origin, and language; but, notwithstanding, they too often, either through ignorance or indifference, preserved the erroneous general names, and thus included the Iberians, Germans, and Thracians among the Celts. Most unpardonable it is that modern philologists and historians, who have so incalculably better means of information, should adopt their opinions; particularly when it is so very improbable that so great a part of the world should have been occupied by one people and one language."*

But, if ancient writers afford not any information respecting the early history of the Celts, it must necessarily follow that all the theories on this subject rest on no other foundation than mere conjecture. Nor could such conjectures have ever assumed even the appearance of plausibility, had not the supporters of the Celtic hypothesis contrived to confuse together in a most ingenious manner the history of every ancient people; and thus enabled themselves to ascribe to the Celts alone the migrations and actions which properly belonged to very distinct races of men. Before, however, it can be admitted that the Scythians, Persians, Phrygians, Thracians, &c. were Celts, some proof must be given in support of this supposition: but history is totally silent on this subject; and, on the contrary, from the earliest times of which there is any tradition, not a single assertion or even surmise that these people were either Celts, or the descendants of Celts, can be found in any ancient writer.

In the absence, therefore, of such authority, it may seem that this question might be at once decided by the irrefutable testimony of language: but, unfortunately, it is admitted by both parties that the remains of the Celtic tongue, which are still preserved, abound in ~~Greek, Latin, and Teutonic~~ words; and it therefore becomes indispensable to determine, in the first place, whether these words are original or exotic. For it must be obvious that, if the Celts never inhabited the countries which were originally or subsequently occupied

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 31.

by the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic people, their languages could not possibly have become affected by the Celtic, unless they had either maintained a frequent friendly intercourse with the Celts, or had been conquered by them: but it appears fully, from the whole course of ancient tradition and history, that no such intercourse or conquest ever took place; and, consequently, if the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic people were not originally one and the same race of men, it must necessarily follow that, as the Celts have been subdued by the Romans and Germans, as history attests, it is from them that the Celts have received the foreign words with which their language abounds, and not the Romans and Germans who received these words from the Celts.

Were it admitted, therefore, that the Celts possessed, at some remote period, Asia Minor and Europe, it cannot be denied that, at the time when they first became distinctly known to history, they were surrounded by people who differed from them in language, customs, and religion. For, as Bishop Percy observes, — "Cæsar, whose judgment and penetration will be disputed by none but a person blinded by hypothesis, and whose long residence in Gaul gave him better means of being informed than almost any of his countrymen; Cæsar expressly assures us that the Celts, or common inhabitants of Gaul, 'differed, in language, customs, and laws,' from the Belgæ on the one hand, who were chiefly a Teutonic people*, and from the inhabitants of Aquitaine on the other, who, from their vicinity to Spain, were probably of Iberian race. Cæsar positively affirms that the nations of Gaul differed from those of Germany in their manners, and in many other particulars, which he has enumerated at length: and this assertion is not thrown

* With regard to the Belgæ the author of the Vindication of the Celts observes, in p. 87.—"In no one instance has Cæsar himself called the Belgæ Germans; but plainly distinguishes them from the four tribes who are particularly designated as Germans. Had the Belgæ been wholly German, we should have found infallible marks in his description that they were so; and he would not have made the distinction which he constantly does, of the Germans as a different people. We submit the question to any impartial person, who will read the account of Cæsar's wars with the Belgæ, whether the smallest traces can be discovered that they were all Germans, or, on the contrary, whether they were not for the most part evidently and palpably Celts."

out at random, like the passages brought by Cluverius against it; but is coolly and cautiously made, when he is going to draw the characters of both nations in an exact and well finished portrait, which shows him to have studied the genius and manners of both people with great attention, and to have been completely master of his subject."* Strabo, also, clearly shows that the Iberians, or inhabitants of Spain, were a distinct people from the Celts †; and no remark can be necessary to evince that the Etrurians and Latins differed from them in every respect. But, against such conclusive authority, the advocates of the Celtic hypothesis can produce nothing but vague and unfounded conjectures, which they are obliged to support by giving a sense to the passages in ancient writers that oppose their hypothesis, which these passages do not admit. Long, therefore, as the following quotation is, it so completely exemplifies the singular manner in which these advocates maintain their argument, that its length will be perhaps excused: —

" Cependant on est entré dans un détail aussi considérable pour faire voir que les Celtes avoient anciennement une langue commune, qui se partagea par la suite en plusieurs dialectes. On voit même que la

* Preface to Northern Antiquities, p. xi.

" On a déjà vu," says Schœpflin, " que ceux qui ont donné aux Gaulois seuls le nom de Celtes sont, parmi les Grecs, Herodote, Aristote, Polybe, Diodore de Sicile, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Strabon, Denys Periegete, Plutarque, Ptolemée, Athénée, et Etienne de Bysance; parmi les Latins, César, Tite-Live, Pomponius Mela, Lucain, et Pline. Les auteurs Grecs, qui donnent aux Gaulois et aux Germains le nom commun de Celtes, sont Appien, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, et si l'on veut, Arrien, quoiqu'il soit incertain quelle est son opinion sur cette matière; on ne trouve aucun auteur Latin pour ce sentiment. Les auteurs qui sont du premier sentiment, n'ont-ils pas plus d'autorité que ceux qui ont adopté le second, et ne méritent-ils pas qu'on les préfère aux autres? Ils n'ont point certainement manqué de talens, et n'ont pas négligé les moyens de connoître la vérité. La plûpart ont même vécu dans le temps où la langue Celtique étoit encore en usage, dans le temps où la nation se donnoit à elle même, et *dans sa propre langue*, le nom de Celtes, dans le temps enfin, où l'on pouvoit porter un jugement plus assuré sur la signification de ce nom." — *Schœpflin, Vindiciæ Celticæ*, § 53., in the French translation annexed to the first volume of Pel. Histoire des Celtes.

† This one of the several passages which occur in Strabo on this point will, perhaps, be sufficient to explain his opinion on this subject: — Ει γαρ δη (ΙΒΗΡΕΣ) συναισπιζειν εβουλοντο αλληλοις, ουτε Καρχηδονιοις υπηρξεν αν καταστρεψασθαι επελθουσι την πλειστην αυτων εκ περιουσιας· και ετι προτερον Τυριοις, ειτα ΚΕΛΤΟΙΣ, οι νυν Κελτιβηρες και Βηρονες καλουνται. — *Strabo*, p. 158.

langue Allemande descend de l'ancienne langue des Celtes, et conserve la plûpart de ses racines. Cette opinion peut, à la vérité, être combattue; mais les objections se dissiperont d'elles mêmes, pourvu que l'on fasse attention aux preuves déjà rapportées.*

" I. Jules César, qui avoit passé près de dix ans dans les Gaules, assure, dira-t'on, formellement que les trois nations, entre lesquelles les Gaules étoient partagées de son temps, sçavoir, *les Belges, les Celtes, et les Aquitains, avoient une langue, des coutumes, et des loix différentes.*

" II. Strabon assure la même chose, au moins par rapport aux Aquitains. *Ils diffèrent, dit-il, des autres peuples des Gaules, non seulement par rapport à la langue, mais aussi à l'égard de la physionomie; ils tiennent beaucoup plus des Ibères que des Gaulois.* Le témoignage de Strabon et de Jules César suffit pour prouver que les peuples des Gaules n'avoient pas la même langue.

" III. Il n'est pas moins certain, dira-t'on encore, que la langue de Gaule différoit aussi de celle des Germains. Jules César rémarque qu'Arioviste, prince Germain, ayant fait un long séjour dans les Gaules, parlait passablement la langue du pays. † Une semblable rémarque seroit ridicule, et ne pourroit être pardonnée à un auteur aussi grave que Jules César, si la langue des Gaulois et celle des Germains eussent été parfaitement les mêmes.

" IV. L'autorité de Jules César se confirme par celle de Suétone

* What these proofs are, if by proofs be meant the testimony of ancient writers or arguments founded on such testimony, it is impossible to discover in any part of the work preceding this quotation.

† The words of Cæsar are, " Commodissimum visum est, C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valerii Cabŋri filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem, et propter fidem et propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus, longinqua consuetudine, utebatur."— *De Bello Gallico*, lib. i. c. 47.

In Oudendorp's edition I find this note on this passage: — " Observandum etiam est frustra esse Fe. Holomannum aliosque, qui ex hoc loco colligunt, linguam Germanicam a Gallica prorsus fuisse diversam, cum ejusdem tantum linguæ erant dialecti ut multis probavit Ph. Cluverius Germ. i. c. 5. * Et sane discrepans pronunciatio, verba nova paullatim introducta, multusque inter suos linguæ Germanicæ usus, possent facere, ut complures anni transirent, priusquam Gallica commode usus fuerit Ariovistus. — Davis."

et de Tacite. Le premier dit que Caligula, revenant de l'expédition qu'il avoit entreprise contre les Germains, se décerna à lui même les honneurs d'un triomphe aussi vain que ses victoires et ses conquêtes étoient imaginaires. Comme il n'emmenoit avec lui qu'un très-petit nombre de prisonniers et de transfuges Germains, il prit le parti de choisir dans les Gaules tout ce qui s'y trouva de gens d'une taille gigantesque. Il les obligea de laisser croître et de rougir leur cheveux, d'apprendre le Germain, et d'adopter des noms barbares, dans la vue de les faire passer pour des Germains.

" V. Enfin, objectera-t'on, Tacite prétend que les Osces et les Gothins, quoiqu'ils fussent établis en Germanie, n'étoient pas cependant des peuples Germains. Cet historien le prouve, en observant que les premiers se servoient de la langue Gauloise, et les séconds de celle de la Panonie. Il remarque, dans le même endroit, que les Marsignes et les Bures, voisins des Osces et des Gothins, étoient reconnus pour Suèves, tant à la langue, qu'à leur manière de s'habiller. * C'est donc une preuve que les peuples même de la Germanie n'avoient pas la même langue.

" Ces objections paroissent d'abord spécieuses et éblouissantes; mais elles portent toutes à faux. Quoique tous les peuples Celtes eussent originairement la même langue, on ne sçauroit prétendre qu'ils s'entendissent tous. Les langues vivantes sont sujettes à se perfectionner, et à se corrompre..... Seroit-il donc surprenant que dans le cours d'un grand nombre de siècles la langue de Celtes se fût partagée en plusieurs dialectes? Que ces dialectes eussent tellement varié par la suite du temps, que les peuples Celtes ne s'entendissent plus, pour peu qu'ils fussent éloignés les uns des autres."†

It hence appears, from the admissions of the advocates themselves of the Celtic hypothesis, that the people immediately conterminous to

* The words of Tacitus are, " Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Burii; terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Burii sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos; et quod tributa patiuntur." — *Tacit. Ger.* c. 43.

† Pelloutier, Histoire des Celtes, p. 106, et seq.

the Celts, at the time when they became distinctly known to history, differed from them in many respects, and also in dialect at least, if not in language. It is further admitted, that the dialects alleged to be derived from Celtic had become, in the course of time and long separation, so dissimilar that their affinity with the parent tongue could be discovered only by etymological research. For Pelloutier remarks: — "Jules César parle en homme de guerre. Il dit que les Aquitains, les Belges, les Celtes, et les Germains, ont des langues différentes. L'on conviendra sans peine que ces peuples ne s'entendoient pas les uns les autres sans interprêtes; mais Jules César n'a pas examiné en homme de lettres, s'il n'y avoit pas entre ces quatre langues différentes quelque affinité, quelque ressemblance, qui put faire juger qu'elles descendoient originairement d'une langue commune." *

The question, therefore, is thus submitted to the test of language, and no criterion is better adapted for its decision; if the examination of the Celtic words adduced as identical with those of any other language be conducted on clear and rational principles. But many pages of the works of Bullet, Cour de Gebelin, and other writers, are occupied in showing that any one letter of the alphabet may be changed for another; and that, in fact, the component letters of a word are of no importance: for, if κυπελλον be not Celtic, *cuib* certainly is; and it can be easily conceived that the former is merely a corruption of the latter. † This singular process of converting a

* Histoire des Celtes, vol. i. p. 108.

Pelloutier forgets that Cæsar was also a man of letters, and even an etymologist in his own language. Nothing, therefore, seems more probable than that, during the nine years he resided in Gaul, he would amuse his leisure hours in making accurate enquiries into the languages, manners, and religions of Gaul and Germany.

† In case this singular etymology should appear fictitious, I must refer to Townsend's Character of Moses, vol. ii. p. 227.

It is, at the same time, remarkable, that almost all the Celtic etymologies given by Cour de Gebelin proceed on the same supposition, that a word in another language of two or more syllables is merely a corruption of some Celtic monosyllabic word; but experience demonstrates, beyond the power of contradiction, that in all languages there ever has been, and ever will be, a tendency to abbreviation and contraction. To derive, therefore, a poly-

Celtic word into Greek, Latin, Teutonic, or any other language the etymologist pleases, is explained at length by Mr. Townsend, from whose work I extract the following very convenient rules: —

" *Bh*, *mh*, *ch*, *gh*, and *th* have frequently the same sound; but what is more remarkable is that *hy*, *y*, *i*, *ibh*, nay, even *camha*, *cogha*, and *cocadh*, are pronounced like *o*, so that *coghan* becomes *owen*, and *camhania* becomes *onia*. * *D* after *n* doubles it, and therefore *find* is read *finn*.

" *G* and *c* are both hard. These are commutable, as are *b* and *f*, *t* and *d*, *m* and *n*. Hence *nemethæ* is pronounced *momæ*. *Ch*, *dh*, and *gh*, at the end of words, readily change for each other.

" This operation of the aspirate naturally accounts for the licentious changes we observe in words, and the substitution of one consonant for another, with which it has no organic affinity..... A sufficient acquaintance with this licentious practice, will enable us to trace the affinity of words, which apparently have no connection. For instance, between οικος and *ædes* we can see no resemblance, nor shall we be able to discover their descent from one common ancestor, unless we view them as related to the Gaelic. Here, in the family of οικος, we find *oighthiarna* and *oighre*, and *oighedh*. On the other hand, *aoidheach*, *aoidhidhe*, *oidhre*, and *oidhe*, a guest, with *aoidheachd* and *aidheacht*, lodging, are allied to *ædes*. But, from what I have stated, it is clear, that, in pronunciation, not the least difference exists between *oighidh* and *aoidhidhe*, which evidently refer the former to οικος, and the latter to *ædes*."† How far these rules given by Mr. Townsend apply to the

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syllabic from a monosyllabic word, unless it is clearly proved to be the root, is contrary to this obvious and indisputable principle, which alone is sufficient to show the futility of all Celtic etymologies: but, even in ascertaining the supposed root, none of the component letters of the word identified with Celtic ought to be rejected; nor ought, therefore, the Latin *candidus* to be derived from the Celtic *can*.

* I have not been able to ascertain whether these quiescent letters ought to be taken into consideration in etymological researches or not; for I find that Celtic etymologists either make use of them or reject them, just as it suits their convenience.

† Character of Moses, vol. ii. p. 180, 181.

But Mr. Townsend had just before said, " *Dh* and *gh* are either quiescent or sound like

pronunciation of Celtic I know not, but it is self evident that, if applied to other languages, no ingenuity is required for making *quidlibet ex quolibet.*

It is at the same time very remarkable that, when Celtic is not concerned, Celtic etymologists are themselves perfectly aware of the impropriety of subjecting the words of the different languages compared together to etymological tortures, in order to extort an appearance of identity which does not exist; for Cour de Gebelin very justly observes:—"Au renouvellement des sciences en Europe, on s'appliqua avec une ardeur inconcevable à l'étude des langues savantes: on dévora les livres Latins, Grecs, Arabes, Hébreux, &c., en même tems qu'on ne négligeoit rien pour remonter à l'origine de ces langues. A cet égard il n'y eut en quelque sorte qu'une opinion; on vit toutes les langues dans l'Hébreu; chaque mot, Grec, Latin, &c., dut rassembler, bon gré malgré, à un mot Hébreu: on l'allongeoit, on le raccourcissoit, on le changeoit jusqu'à ce que le rapport fût parfait: jamais Phalaris [Procruste] ne disloqua mieux les malheureux étrangers qui tomboient entre ses mains, pour les assortir à la longueur de son lit. Il parut donc dans les XVIe et XVIIe siècles une multitude d'ouvrages où l'on se proposoit de prouver que la langue Hébraique est la première de toutes les autres, la langue-mère, dont toutes sont descendues; ouvrages en général sans goût, sans principes, sans critique, sans philosophie; malheureux essais où l'érudition est presque toujours en pure perte, où elle ne sert qu'à égarer." * But it

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y in *you*, and thus *dhean* becomes *yan*; *ghabh* is sounded *yabh*..... In terminations, *dh* and *gh* are either quiescent or become *oo*, as *dheanadh* is *yanoo* and *laogh* is *loo*." Consequently, if quiescent letters are to be rejected, *aighidh* does not sound like οικος nor *aoidhidhe* like *ædes:* but, it seems, these letters may be pronounced or not, just as best suits the etymology which is to be demonstrated.

* Monde Primitif, vol. vi. p. xxiv.

Notwithstanding their violence, the following remarks of Pinkerton on Celtic etymologists are equally just; at the end he gives specimens of Celtic etymology from that insane work, the "Mémoires de la Langue Celtique, par M. Bullet," from which it appears, that "a man must be a lunatic who founds any thing upon a language so loose as to take any impression. Such are *Northampton* (North Hampton): from *nor*, the mouth of a river; *tan*,

must be obvious that, if Celtic be the parent tongue from which the languages of Europe are derived, such means cannot be requisite for evincing their affinity: for, in the languages derived from the Latin, or in the various Teutonic dialects, the common origin of which is much more ancient, it is perfectly unnecessary to have recourse to interchanging, adding, or rejecting, at pleasure, every letter of the alphabet, in order to show their relation to each other, and their derivation from one parent tongue. Even in languages, the direct affinity of which is rendered questionable by distance of time and place, it will be seen, by a reference to Table I. Part II. of this work, that such arbitrary changes are not required for establishing the identity of the words used by different people, however anciently or widely separated from each other; for it will be there observed that no further permutations of letters occur, than in substituting one vowel for another, or the hard for the soft sound of a consonant; that the syllables of each word remain untouched, and that no letters are added or rejected except occasionally the final vowel or syllable of the Sanscrit term; and yet 900 Sanscrit words are incontrovertibly identified, by mere juxta-position, with a variety of words, all of different meanings, occurring in five distinct languages. When, therefore, the Celtic etymologist produces an equal number of Celtic words identical with Greek, Latin, and Teutonic terms, the truth of his

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a river; *ton*, habitation. *Northill* (North Hill): from *nor*, river; and *tyne*, habitation. *Ringwood*: from *ren*, a division; *ew*, a river; and *bed*, a forest. *Uxbridge* (Ouse Bridge): from *uc*, river; and *brig*, division. *Risum teneatis?*..... The few words peculiarly Celtic, and of which a glossary, by a person of complete skill in the Gothic, would be highly valuable, have so many significations, that to found etymology on them is worse than madness. In the Irish, one word has often ten, twenty, or thirty meanings: *gql* implies *a stranger, a native, milk, a warrior, white, a pledge, a conqueror, the belly of a trout, a wager*, &c. This must be the case in all savage tongues; but the Celtic, I will venture to say, is of all savage languages the most confused, as the Celts are of all savages the most deficient in understanding. Wisdom and ingenuity may be traced among the Samoieds, Laplanders, Negroes, &c., but, among the Celts, none of native growth. All etymology of names is folly, but Celtic etymology is sheer frenzy. Enough of Celtic etymology! let us leave it to candidates for bedlam and go on."— *Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths*, p. 101.

hypothesis will be immediately admitted; but, as mere comparison of the words supposed to be identical, or permutations in their letters and syllables on clear and indisputable principles, are the only criteria by which the correctness of etymologies can be determined; it must necessarily follow that, as the genuineness of Celtic etymologies cannot support these simple tests, they must be considered as arbitrary, fanciful, and unfounded.

To admit, also, this hypothesis, it must likewise be admitted that conquest and the introduction of a new religion did not produce the same changes in the Celtic tongue, which they have occasioned in every other language which has been subjected to their influence.* The dialects of Europe derived from Latin abound in Teutonic words, the Spanish language in Arabic, the modern Greek in Turkish, and the Persian in Arabic; on what principle, therefore, of reasoning or common sense can it be supposed that Celtic was alone exempted from similar effects, when it was submitted to the operation of the very same causes? It cannot, also, be denied that the Celts were a rude people, and that the Romans, and even the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, surpassed them in civilisation; and, consequently, that the language of the conquerors must have been much more copious than that of the conquered people. Pinkerton, therefore, may be excused for having affirmed that of all

* The Celts have not yet, I believe, answered these questions of Lanzi: — " Il Latino, or più or meno schietto usato in Europa, oltre il 1200, al civile commercio e alla propagazione del S. Vangelo, in ogni alpe, in ogni capanna, in ogni angolo ha dovuto lasciar vestigj di se. Che mi si schierino que' tanti vocaboli Celti affini al Latino; io gli posso credere nati nel Lazio, e guasti fra Celti. So che questi 35 secoli addietro dovean essere molto scarsi di termini. *Fuoco* potea dirsi fra loro *ti* o *ulvu*; se nel Celtico si trova *engil*, come mi si prova che da esso derivi *ignis*, piuttosto ch' esso sia guasto da *ignis?* Che mi si opponga non esser Greci alquanti nomi degli Dei, siccome Saturno, Vulcano, Mercurio; e che l' ultimo, per esempio, dee venire da *merchvvr* (*mercator*) ed essersi recato da' Celti. Si provi ancor quì in primo luogho che *merchvvr* sia anteriore a *mercator*; mi si dica poi perchè i Celti non recassero o non propagassero il nome di Mercurio fra gli Umbri? mi si spieghi in oltre perchè nemmen gli Etruschi lor posteri lo appellino se non *Thurms*, ch' è quanto τος Ἑρμης? E quando bene accordassi che qualche voce non si potesse ascrivere se non a' Celti, come dimostrare ch' ella non siasi introdotta per via di commercio? Vi commerciarono gli Etruschi in tempi antichissimi, e questi molto influirono nella Latinità, come osservai nella Parte I." — *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. ii. p. 14.

people the Celts are most deficient in understanding, when Celtic writers gravely assert that γραφειν is derived from *grafaim*, *scribere* from *scriobham*, *discere* from *dysgu*, *litera* from *llythyr*, and *liber* from *leabhar*; and who contend that the Latin numerals were derived from the Irish *aon*, *da*, *tri*, *ceithair*, *coig*, *seisear*, *seached*, *ocht*, *naoi*, *deic*. But, if the Celts in Britain and Ireland are indebted to strangers for words to express writing, and even for their numerals, as the mere inspection of such etymologies sufficiently proves, it cannot for a moment be supposed that either Greeks, Romans, or Germans could have received, from so rude a people, any terms indicative of the objects peculiar to a much higher state of civilisation than they had attained.

With respect to this point, O'Brien, in the Preface to his Irish Dictionary, very correctly observes that "the sure method of discerning those Celtic words resembling the Latin (or any other language) in any European dialect of the Celtic nations, is by considering, in the first place, if they are expressive either of such ideas or such objects of the senses as no language can want words for from the beginning; because no society of people, nay, none of its particular members enjoying all the senses, could at any time or in any country be strangers to such objects or ideas, and, consequently, none destitute of words to distinguish them: and, secondly, to consider if such words be the only appellatives of their respective objects or ideas used in the language, either in common practice or in old writings, for signifying the things they are appropriated to. All words in any of the Celtic dialects, which can stand the test of these two qualities, may, with full assurance, be regarded as mere Celtic (though probably changed somewhat from their primitive form and pronunciation), and not derived from the Latin, whatever resemblance or affinity they may bear with words of the same signification in the language." But, when he proceeds to exemplify these rules, it becomes impossible to admit the etymologies which he adduces; because all unimproved languages are deficient in names for many natural objects, and in terms expressive of the operations of the

mind; and, consequently, their existence in a language is no proof of their originality, but is, on the contrary, if the language were spoken by an uncivilised people, a strong presumption of their foreign derivation. It is, therefore, inconsistent with this clear and obvious principle to consider the following Latin and Greek words as derivatives from the Irish, when the direct contrary appears so much more probable: — Irish, *Dia*, Latin, *Deus*; I. *anam*, L. *anima*; I. *intleacht*, L. *intellectus*; I. *meamhoir*, L. *memoria*; I. *intin*, L. *intentio*; I. *sprid*, L. spiritus; I. *feall*, L. *fallacia*; I. *coirt*, L. *cortex*; I. *stan*, L. *stannum*; I. or, L. aurum; I. *iarun*, L. *ferrum*; I. *croch*, L. *crocus*; I. *tir*, L. *terra*; I. *corcur*, L. *purpura*; I. *gran*, L. *granum*; I. *machiul*, L. *macula*; I. *mol*, L. *mola*; I. *roth*, L. *rota*; I. *cainneal*, L. *candela*. Or, Irish, *aer*, Greek, αηρ; I. *acbheis*, G. αξυσσος; I. *airget*, G. αργυρος; I. *cnaib*, G. κανναβις; I. *ceat*, G. ἑκατον; I. *colon*, G. κολωνη; I. *fileadh*, G. φιλοσοφος; I. *fion*, G. οινος; I. *neabhul*, G. νεφαλη; I. *pian*, G. ποινη; I. *speir*, G. σφαιρα; I. *tiarna*, G. τυραννος; I. *toil*, G. θελημα; I. *agalla*, G. αγγελλω; I. *ain*, G. αινη. I add from Mr. Townsend's work a few identifications of Celtic and English words, which are equally objectionable: — Gaelic, *bolsgairam*, English, *bawl*; G. *beathael*, E. *beast*; G. *copehaille*, E. *cap*; G. *teidmh*, E. *death*; G. *dimhnighm*, E. *deem*; G. *dorus*, E. *door*; G. *smigein*, E. *chin*; G. *taos*, E. *dough*; G. *bacalta*, E. *bake*; G. *blagair*, E. *blast*; G. *easlan*, E. *ail*; G. *buachail*, E. *boy*.

But, in order that the reader may observe what the result of the strict application of the principles proposed by O'Brien would be, I subjoin the following comparative list of words, all of which are likely to be found in a rude tongue, from which the total dissimilarity of the Celtic with other languages will be rendered perfectly apparent.*

* It may, perhaps, be proper to observe that, in the Arabic column of this table, the words are written according to the pronunciation of the letters which prevails in Persia and India; and that it is the third person singular of the preterite of verbs, and not the infinitive, which is given.

Greek.	Latin.	Welsh.	Irish.	German.	Arabic.	Sanscrit.	Persian.
αγαθος	bonus	da	da	gut	taib	shubha	nik
αἱμα	sanguis	gward	cru	blut	dam	raktum	khun
ακανθα	spina	eirinbarth	dealg	dorn	shuk	kăntăkă	khār
ακουειν	audire	clywed	eualaim	horen	samaa	shrotum	shăniden
αληθης	verus	cywir	dearbh	wahr	sahih	satya	rast
ανεμος	ventus	chwyth	deaith	wind	rih	wāta	bād
ανθος	flos	blodewyn	bla'th	blume	zahir	pushpum	gul
ανθρωπος	homo	dyn	duine	mann	rajul	nāra	mārd
αργυρος	argentum	arian	airgiod	silber	fizzah	răjătăm	sīm
αρτος	panis	bara	aran	brot	khubz	ănnăm	nān
ασπις	scutum	tarian	eirr	schild	tirs	chărmăm	sipăr
αστηρ	stella	seren	reannan	stern	kaukab	tāra	sitāra
αυτος	ille	ef	e	cr	hu	să	o
βασιλευς	rex	llywydd	mal	konig	malik	rāja	shāh
γαλακτα	lac	laith	blith	milch	laban	dugdam	shir
γερων	senex	coth	criona	alt	shekh	jărăn	pir
γλωσσα	lingua	tafod	eochai	zunge	lisan	jihwa	zibān
γυνη	mulier	guraig	bean	weib	nisa	stri	zăn
δακρυειν	plorare	cwynfan	guilim	weinen	baka	ruditum	giristen
δαμαλις	vacca	myswynog	eare	kuh	bakr	go	mādeh-gāv
διδοναι	dare	rhoddi	tabhraim	geben	ata	dātum	dāden
δενδρον	arbor	coedd	gnia	baum	shajar	wraksha	dirăkht
εγχος	hasta	gwayu	carr	spiess	harb	shănku	sinān
ειδειν	videre	gweled	cim	sehen	basara	drishtum	diden
ειπειν	dicere	dywidydd	abraim	sprechen	kala	uktum	guften
εμπληθειν	implere	llenwi	carcaim	fullen	taria	puritum	pur-kărden
ερχεσθαι	venire	dyfad	dighim	kommen	atu	etum	āmăden
ερως	amor	hoffdar	dila	liebe	ishk	kama	yāri
ἡλιος	sol	haul	grioth	sonne	shams	suria	aftāb
ἡμεις	nos	nini	sinn	wir	nahn	waium	mā
θανατος	mors	angen	andhacht	tod	maut	mritiu	mirg
θερμος	calidus	cynnes	te	warm	harr	ghărma	gărm
θριξ	crinis	guale	gruag	haar	shaar	késha	mu
θυγατηρ	filia	merch	dear	dochter	bint	duhitr	dochter
ιεναι	ire	myned	teadhaim	gehen	masha	găntum	răften
ἰος	sagitta	hobel	godas	pfeil	nabal	bāna	tir
ἱππος	equus	gorwydd	each	pferd	faras	ăswa	ăsp
ἱσταναι	stare	sefy	seasaim	stehen	kama	stātum	istāden
καθευδειν	dormire	cysgu	faoidhim	schlafen	rakada	swapitum	khabiden
κακος	malus	dwrg	eale	boss	sharr	dushta	băd
καρπος	fructus	enwd	bliocht	frucht	samar	phullam	miwah
κενος	vacuus	guag	falambh	leeren	khali	shunya	tahi
κεφαλη	caput	penn	ceann	haupt	ras	shirăsa	săr
κλινη	lectus	gwely	cosair	belt	mihad	parienka	palang
κτεινειν	necare	llad	facthad	todten	katala	wădhitum	kushiden
κυων	canis	ci	cu	hund	kalb	shuna	sag
λαμβανειν	accipere	cymmeryd	ed	nehmen	akhaza	lipsitum	sitāden
λυκος	lupus	blaidd	criun	wolf	zaib	wrika	gurk
μακρος	longus	hir	fad	long	taul	dirgha	diraz
μεγας	magnus	mawr	mor	gross	kabir	măha	buzurg
μυς	mus	llygoden	lueh	maus	far	musha	mush
ναυς	navis	llong	eathar	schiff	safinah	nan	kăshti
νησος	insula	ynys	i	eiland	jazirah	dwipa	anju

Greek.	Latin.	Welsh.	Irish.	German.	Arabic.	Sanscrit.	Persian.
ξιφος	ensis	cleddyf	gen	schwert	seif	ăsi	tigh
ὁδος	via	fford	raon	weg	sabil	marga	rah
οδους	dens	ysgitha	fecc	zahn	sinn	dăntam	dăndan
οδυνη	dolor	gofid	diie	schmerz	asaf	pira	dard
οικος	domus	ty	lios	haus	beit	ghriham	khanah
ολβιος	dives	berthog	saidhbher	reich	ghini	shriman	tawangir
ολιγος	parvus	coeg	diochuid	klein	saghir	lăghu	khord
ομμα	oculus	llygad	deare	ange	ain	netram	chashm
οξυς	acutus	clym	sgathmhar	scharf	hadd	tikshăna	tiz
ορνιθος	avis	edn	en	vogel	tair	pakshi	părăndah
ορος	mons	mynydd	sliabh	berg	jabal	părwăt	koh
ορυττειν	fodere	palu	ceabhaim	graben	hafara	khănitum	kănden
οστεον	os, ossis	asgwrn	tee	bein	izm	ăsti	estukhwan
ουας	auris	clust	dud	ohr	izn	kărna	gush
ουρα	cauda	cynffen	easal	schwanz	zanab	pucha	dum
παις	puer	macewy	maccaomh	knabe	sabi	kumāra	bărna
παχυς	pinguis	bgas	reamhar	fett	semin	pina	fărbeh
πελαγος	mare	llyr	li	see	bahr	samudra	dăria
πενητης	pauper	bychodog	daidhbher	arm	fakir	dăridra	găda
πετεσθαι	volare	hedeg	eitlim	fliegen	tara	urritum	păriden
πετρη	lapis	carreg	onn	stein	hijar	păshāna	săng
πινεσθαι	bibere	yfed	daif	trinken	sharaba	pitum	nushiden
πολις	urbs	caer	cathgir	stadt	madinah	năgărăm	shăhăr
πολεμος	bellum	rhyfil	duchon	krieg	harb	yuddh	jung
πολυς	multus	llawer	dirim	viele	khaili	băhula	firāwan
πους	pes	troed	cos	fuss	rijah	păda	pā
πραττειν	facere	peri	deanam	machen	faala	kărtum	kărden
πυρ	ignis	tan	tin	feuer	nair	ăgni	ātish
ρην	nasus	trwyn	commor	nase	anf	nāsa	bini
σεληνη	luna	lloer	easconn	mond	kamar	chăndra	māh
σιδηρος	ferrum	arf	eabradh	eisen	hadid	loh	ăhăn
στρατος	exercitus	lin	creach	heer	jaish	sena	lăshkăr
σωμα	corpus	corpt	eacht	leib	jism	deha	bădăn
ταχυς	celer	buan	daith	schnell	sari	kshipra	zud
ὑδωρ	aqua	dwr	bior	wasser	ma	udăka	āb
ὑετος	pluvia	glaw	ainbheach	regen	ghais	wărsha	bārān
υἱος	filius	mab	mac	sohn	ibn	putra	pisar
ὑμεις	vos	chwi	sibh	cuch	intum	yuyam	shuma
ὑς	sus	mochyn	ceis	saw	khinzir	shukăra	khuk
φαυλος	vilis	gwaeh	lair	schlecht	haker	nicha	wakas
φερειν	ferre	dwyn	malcam	führen	hamala	bhăritum	burden
φθειρ	pediculus	truedyn	sarog	laus	kaml	yuka	sipas
φλεγειν	urere	llasgi	lasaim	brennen	sakara	ushtum	suhten
φοβειν	timere	ofni	eaglaim	furchten	harasa	trăsitum	tarsiden
φρουριον	castellum	trefan	rath	schloss	kila	durga	dizh
χειρ	manus	hlaw	lamh	hand	yad	hăsta	dăst
χιων	nix	eiry	laogh	schnee	sulj	hima	bărf

In the preceding 100 Celtic words, all primitives and likely to occur in the most unimproved tongues, not one bears the remotest resemblance to the terms with which they are compared in six different

languages. When, therefore, Celtic etymologists find it impossible to effect even the appearance of an identification of Celtic words with those of other languages, except by arbitrary changes which are altogether inadmissible; and when the words which are unquestionably Celtic have not the slightest correspondence with those of any other tongue; it may be justly concluded that not a single language of Europe or Asia has been derived from the Celtic, or has even the least affinity with it. It must also necessarily follow, that the Latin and Teutonic words*, with which the remains of the Celtic at present abound, are not original, but derived from the people by whom the Celts were conquered, and from whom they received a new religion.

It is, however, possible that the Celts, if they once occupied the whole of Europe, may have gradually receded, as they were attacked by a perfectly distinct race of men, and may have left no part of their people in the countries which they were thus compelled to forsake. Hence, it may be argued, no Celtic words could pass into the language of the conquerors, and their non-existence in it, consequently, though it may disprove the affinity of the two languages, will not prove that these countries were never possessed by the Celts. The maintainers, therefore, of this hypothesis are prepared to show that almost every name of man, town, mountain, or river, which occurs in ancient authors, and even of many places at the present day, are pure Celtic, as is demonstrated by their being easily explained by the words of this copious and expressive language. Bullet has written a folio volume on this subject, but Pinkerton was so uncourteous as to call it an insane work, and to declare that all etymology of names is folly, but Celtic etymology is sheer frenzy.

Harsh as this censure may appear, its justness cannot be disputed: for the names contained in ancient authors have been principally preserved

* As far as I have observed, there seems, with a few solitary exceptions only, to be no Greek words in Celtic, except such as are cognate with the Latin; and it is, therefore, most probable that they were derived intermediately through this language, and not directly from Greek. Γραφειν is the only Greek word, not cognate with the Latin, which I have remarked, but there may be others.

by Greek writers, and their distaste for barbarous names and fondness of euphony cannot be denied; for even Bryant, whose whole system is founded on similar etymologies, observes, — "This was the standard [the Greek language] to which every thing was brought; and, if they met with any names that would not abide the trial, they deemed them barbarous, and entirely omitted them. Strabo fairly confesses that this was his way of proceeding; Ου λεγω δε των εθνων τα ονοματα τα παλαια, δια την αδοξιαν και αμα ατοπιαν της εκφορας αυτων. The ancient historian Cephalaon says the same; Εμοι δε ἡ γραφη τι τερπνον, ἡ τι χαριεν εμελλεν ἐξειν ονομακληδην ανευ πραξεων βαρβαρων φωνοεντι τυραννους, δειλους και μαλακας βαρβαρους. On this account Josephus was afraid to mention the names of the persons who composed the family of his great ancestor, Jacob, lest they should appear uncouth to the nice ears of his readers; Τα μεν ουν ονοματα δηλωσαι τουτων ουκ εθοκιμαζον, και μαλιστα δια την δυσκολιαν αυτων."* The Latin writers were less licentious in this respect; but, had both they and Greek authors been anxious to preserve the correct pronunciation of proper names, it would have been impossible for them to have effected this purpose: because no two alphabets, particularly those of Europe and Asia, contain precisely the same sounds; and, consequently, had a writer been capable of conquering the almost insuperable difficulty of accurately ascertaining the proper pronunciation of foreign words, he could not have expressed it in the characters of his own alphabet. In modern times it is only necessary to take up the work of even a well informed traveller, in order to be convinced of the absolute impossibility of correctly preserving the exact sound of foreign proper names. Men and places, also, often receive names from strangers which are perfectly unknown to the language of the inhabitants; and thus any etymology founded upon them proceeds on an assumption totally erroneous.†

* Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, 8vo ed. vol. vi. p. 39.

I am aware that Bryant made this complaint, because he could not convert the unfortunate names preserved by Greek writers into good Hebrew; but it will be found equally impossible to make them good Celtic.

† If the reader wishes for examples, he may consult the works of Bochart, Bryant, and Faber, *passim*. The following instance may be sufficient: — "We find, then, that the title

Until, therefore, it is proved that the proper name was actually used by the inhabitants of the country to which it is supposed to belong, and that the pronunciation has been correctly preserved, or, what would be preferable, until the name itself is produced written in its proper characters, no certainty of its genuineness can possibly exist. I admit, at the same time, that could the word be identified without violence with one of any known language, it might deserve attention; and that a number of such words would be a strong presumption that, in the country in which they had occurred, this particular language must have prevailed at some time or other: but, when there is no evidence whatever to evince that the people, to whose speech the name is alleged to belong, ever occupied the country in which it is found, it must be obvious that, unless its identity is rendered apparent by mere comparison with its supposed etymon, the correctness of the etymology is much too questionable to be admitted. That the Celtic etymologies, however, cannot stand this simple test, is singularly exemplified, with respect to comparatively modern times, in the difference of opinion that exists between Dr. Jamieson and Mr. G. Chalmers relative to the origin of the Picts. For Dr. Jamieson observes, — "A writer of great research has, indeed, lately attempted to show that all the names of the Pictish kings are British. *The names of the Pictish kings*, he says, *have* NOT ANY MEANING *in the Teutonic, and they are, therefore, Celtic.* They are not *Irish*, and, consequently, they are *British.* Here I must make the same observation, as before, with respect to the topography. I cannot pretend to give the *true meaning* of these names, as there is no branch of etymology so uncertain as this; but, if I can give a *meaning*,

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Samarim, or Semiramis, did not relate to one person but to many; and it seems particularly to have been usurped by princes. The Cuthites settled about Cochin and Madura, in India; and the great kings of Calicut were styled the Samarim even in later times, when these countries were visited by the Portuguese and English!" — *An. Anc. Myth.* vol. iii. p. 144.

But such a word as Samarim, or Zamorin, is unknown in the Malabar language. I may, however, add, that both Mr. Bryant and Mr. Faber mention that Brahma is called *Prajapati*, that is, the Lord Japhet; but the word is *Praja-pati*, i. e. *progeniei dominus.*

and one which is at least as probable as the other, it must appear that the TEUTONIC, as far as names can go, has as good a claim to the royal line of Picts as the BRITISH."*

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites:"

but, having carefully examined the two lists, I may be permitted to observe that the Teutonic is just as probable as the Celtic etymology, and that this example fully proves that the etymology of proper names is mere folly.†

As, therefore, neither history, nor language, nor even the desperate resource of etymology of proper names, supports in the slightest degree the Celtic hypothesis, it must necessarily follow that it is totally groundless. The Celts, consequently, however mortifying to their lofty pretensions it may be, must acquiesce in the justness of this remark of Mr. G. Chalmers:—"Yet were not the aborigines of Europe, who, in subsequent ages, acquired the name of Celtæ, any where found in large assemblages. While Asia and Africa show several

* Dissertation on the Scottish Language, prefixed to Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, p. 35.

Dr. Jamieson had before observed, "Candour requires that it should be admitted, that the Celtic dialects seem to excel the Gothic in expressive terms of a topographical kind. The Celts have, undoubtedly, discovered greater warmth of fancy, and a more natural vein for practical description, than the Gothic or Teutonic tribes; their nomenclatures are, as it were, pictures of the countries which they inhabit; but, at the same time, their explanations must be viewed with reserve, not only because of the vivid character of their imagination, but on account of the extreme ductility of their language, which, from the great changes it admits in a state of construction, has a far more ample range than any of the Gothic dialects. Hence, an ingenious Celt, without the appearance of much violence, could derive almost any word from his mother tongue. Our author has very properly referred to Bullet's Dictionnaire in proof of *the great variety of the Celtic tongue*, for any one who consults that work must see what uncertain ground he treads on, in the pursuit of Celtic etymons."— Ibid. p. 12.

† It will be observed that I have not employed such etymologies in these Researches; but, had I availed myself of the licentious rules laid down by Celtic etymologists, I could have converted, without much trouble, every proper name that I met with in ancient writers into very good Persian or very good Sanscrit. Whether the value of this work may have been diminished by this forbearance I must leave the reader to decide; but it has certainly deprived me of an opportunity of showing what seems considered to be both ingenuity and erudition.

examples of empires vast and flourishing in the earliest times, we only see, among the Celts, clans disconnected from habit, and feeble from disunion. At the recent period when the Romans entered Gaul, with whatever design of revenge or conquest, that extensive country, the appropriate seat of the Celtic people, was cantoned among sixty tribes, who were little united by policy, and still less conjoined by the accustomed habits of natural affection. Wherever we turn our inquisitive eyes on the wide surface of Europe, we look in vain for a Celtic empire, however the Celtic people may have agreed in their language, in their worship, and in their customs."* That the Celts were a primitive people is sufficiently established by their language, but that they were the aborigines of Europe is a point which can neither be proved nor disproved: were it, however, admitted, the non-existence of genuine Celtic words in any one language of Europe, must irresistibly demonstrate that the Celts were anciently dispossesed of the greatest part of the country which they may have once occupied, by a perfectly distinct race of men. This very argument, therefore, evinces that the present inhabitants of Europe are not the descendants of the Celts, and that they did not receive from them their languages, manners, and religion. With regard, also, to the languages of Asia, I may adopt the words of Davis in the Preface to his Dictionary, after substituting the word *nullam* for *manifestam*: — "Ausim affirmare linguam Britannicam (Celticam), tum vocibus, tum phrasibus et orationis contextu, tum literarum pronunciatione, nullam cum orientalibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem." The Celtic, therefore, when divested of all words which have been introduced into it by conquest and religion, is a perfectly original language: but this originality incontrovertibly proves that neither Greek, Latin, or the Teutonic dialects, nor Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit, were derived from the Celtic, since these languages have not any affinity whatever with that tongue.

* Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 6.

CHAP. VII.

THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

The remarks contained in the two preceding chapters will, perhaps, have evinced that it is not from the unknown Scythian or the rude Celtic that the most copious, the most expressive, and the most harmonious of languages derives its origin: but, though the beauty and perfection of the Greek language is universally admitted, still Mr. Mitford merely expresses the general opinion, when he observes that "the origin of the Greek nation from a mixture of the Pelasgians, and possibly some other barbarous hordes, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful."* If, however, the cause assigned be inadequate to produce the alleged effect, its existence may be reasonably questioned. As, therefore, experience proves that a barbarous people must speak a barbarous tongue, and as no attempts are made to explain the manner in which the rude speech of a mixed people, consisting of Pelasgians, barbarian aborigines, Phenicians, and Egyptians, was refined into that homogeneous and polished language by which the poems of Homer are distinguished, it may be justly concluded that the real descent of the Greeks is a point which still remains undetermined. Its investigation, also, is impeded by the deference which is no doubt due to the opinions of ancient writers; but it must be recollected that these authors themselves avow that the subject is involved in the greatest obscurity, and that the memory of events prior to the Trojan war had been preserved solely by tradition.† It

* History of Greece, vol. i. p. 20.

† Diodorus Siculus observes that "some writers have rejected the ancient fables (μυθολογιας), on account of the difficulty of discussing them," and acknowledges that his first six books contain the deeds and fables which occurred previous to the Trojan war: (lib. i. c. 24.) but Thucydides makes the same remark with respect to the events which took place prior to the Peloponnesian war,—"For, before this," observes he, "it is impossible

may, therefore, be allowable to endeavour to ascertain, by means of such traditions, and by the affinity of the Greek with other languages, who the people were from whom the Greeks actually derived their origin.

This question has been further perplexed by the discordant opinions which learned men have expressed with respect to the Pelasgi and the Hellenes. But the accounts given of these two people by ancient writers appear to me to be so brief and unsatisfactory as scarcely to admit of a reasonable conclusion being deduced from them; and it is at least evident that all which has been since written on the subject tends rather to obscure than to elucidate it*: for it is generally admitted that in ancient times the Pelasgi occupied the whole of Greece, which was called from them, according to Herodotus, Pelasgia, and that Hellen was the son of Deucalion who reigned in Thessaly; and yet it is requisite to believe that the posterity of Hellen, who grew up among the Pelasgi, spoke a distinct language, and finally expelled the latter from Greece. This last circumstance is possible; but to render it credible that the children of one family should speak a language different from that of the people amongst whom they were born and lived, requires much stronger testimony than is contained in the single,

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to ascertain the more ancient events, on account of the length of time that has elapsed; but, judging from appearances, I am led to believe that, in remote antiquity, nothing remarkable occurred either in war or otherwise;" (lib. i. c. 1.) and Herodotus commences his history with Candaules, king of Lydia, who reigned from 735 to 680 B. C.

* I ought to except that very learned work, the Horæ Pelasgicæ of Bishop Marsh; who remarks, in p. 25; — "Even independently of Homer's testimony, it is incredible that the *cause* should have operated so long *before* the Trojan war, if, as Thucydides himself declares, the *effect* was not produced till *after* the Trojan war. But, whatever was the period when the descendants of Hellen obtained the superiority which led to the general adoption of their name, there is no reason to suppose that they spoke a *different language* from that which was used in the other parts of Greece, to which they extended their dominion. At that time Greece in general was called Πελασγια; and the very country from which the Ελληνες came was distinguished in particular by the epithet Πελασγικος. The substitution, therefore, of one *term* for another could not have been accompanied with the substitution of one *language* for another; and even if the family of Hellen *had* spoken a different language from that of the Pelasgi, the language of that family could not have superseded the language *previously* spoken in Greece, unless they exterminated as well as conquered, which no Greek historian has ever asserted."

isolated, but often quoted passage of Herodotus: — "But, with regard to the language which the Pelasgi used, I have nothing positive to say. If, however, I may speak from the testimony afforded by those still existing Pelasgi who inhabit the city Kreston, and Placia and Sylace on the Hellespont, and other Pelasgian towns which have changed their names, the Pelasgi used a barbarous language: but the Hellenic people, as it appears to me, have from their first origin always spoken the same language." Yet Herodotus, in the very same sentence, contradicts his own opinion, by adding that "the Hellenes, when they separated from the Pelasgi, were weak and few in number, but afterwards increased to a numerous people, principally by incorporating barbarous tribes with themselves:" * for it must be obvious that such an incorporation could not take place without materially affecting the Hellenic language. The conjecture, however, of Herodotus depends entirely on the justness of the claim to a Pelasgic origin advanced by these towns in Thrace, and of this no evidence whatever is given: but it is at once assumed that they actually spoke the language of the Pelasgi, who are supposed to have been expelled from Greece at least 600 years before, and an inference is then drawn from this assumption, that the Hellenic differed from the Pelasgic language; a mode of reasoning much too inconclusive to support any opinion that is founded upon it.†

Were, however, this inference to be admitted, it would still be necessary to prove the precise period at which the Hellenic language became predominant in Greece; and it will scarcely be contended that this could have taken place before the Greeks were distinguished by the name of Hellenes: for this name is universally admitted to have

* Herodotus, lib. i. c. 58.

† As, also, the Ionians and Æolians were unquestionably comprised under the name of Hellenes, the following words of Herodotus deserve particular attention, as he thus clearly identifies them with the Pelasgi: — Ιωνες δε, όσον μεν χρονον εν Πελοποννησφ την νυν καλεομενην Αχαιιην, και πριν Δαναον τε και Ξυθον απικεσθαι ες Πελοποννησον, ώς Ἑλληνες λεγουσι, εκαλεοντο Πελασγοι Αιγαλεες· επι δε Ιωνος του Ξυθου, Ιωνες. Νησιωται δε επτακαιδεκα παρειχοντο νεας, όπλισμενοι ώς Ἑλληνες· και τουτο Πελασγικον εθνος, ύστερον δε Ιωνικον εκληθη, και αί δυωδεκα πολιες Ιωνες, οί απ' Αθηνεων, Αιολεες δε, εξηκοντα νεας παρειχοντο, εσκευασμενοι τε ώς Ἑλληνες, και τοπαλαι καλεομενοι Πελασγοι, ώς Ἑλληνων λογος. — Lib. vii. c. 94, 95.

originated from Hellen, the son of Deucalion; and, if his posterity spoke a different language from that of their countrymen, it must be concluded that their name and language acquired a predominance exactly in the same manner and at the same time; but Thucydides observes that, "before the Trojan war, Hellas [Greece] does not appear to have acted in common. But it seems to me that the whole country was not then even called by this name, and that not only this appellation did not exist before Hellen, the son of Deucalion, but that parts of the country were named after the different people [that inhabited them], and principally the Pelasgi. Hellen, however, and his children becoming powerful in Phthiotis, and introducing themselves into other cities for the purpose of assistance, individuals from this intercourse were generally called Hellenes; but it was a long time before the application of this name to all the people prevailed. Homer strongly proves this, who, born long after the Trojan war, never applies this name to the Greeks generally, but only to those who came from Phthiotis with Achilles, and who were, in fact, the original Hellenes; but he calls them in his verses Danai, Argivi, and Achæi."* It may, therefore, be reasonably concluded that, previous to the Trojan war, no such distinction prevailed in the language of ancient Greece as Hellenic and Pelasgic.

Another circumstance in the early history of the Greeks, the introduction of letters into their country by Cadmus, which is generally admitted, appears to me to be completely disproved by the Greek alphabet; for, whether the eight letters said to have been unknown to Homer are included or omitted in it, its system of letters and sounds agrees not with that of either the Arabic or Samaritan alphabets.†

* Thucydides, lib. i. c. 3. The conclusions of Thucydides are controverted by Strabo; but, in the edition of Strabo, Amstel. 1707, I find nothing but these two strange notes: — in p. 370., "De hoc Thucydidis loco *accurate disputatur* infra libro xiv. CASAUB.;" in p. 661., "Locus Thucydidis est in procemio: mihi vero, ut ingenue dicam quod sentiam, non videtur Thucydides validis destitui rationibus, quibus suam sententiam contra Strabonem nostrum tueatur; verum *hæc tractant quibus plus est otii.* CASAUB:" but the note of Duker, in support of the passage above quoted, in his edition of Thucydides, is satisfactory and convincing, though too long to be extracted.

† The Phenician is supposed to have been the same as the Samaritan alphabet; but see this subject farther discussed in Chap. IX.

The Samaritan alphabet has twenty-two letters, the Arabic twenty-eight*, the Greek either sixteen or twenty-four, and neither the Samaritan nor Arabic has any vowels†, though the Greek has seven: the Samaritan has thus, at least, eleven, and the Arabic fourteen sounds unknown to the Greek, while the latter, when complete, has seven sounds unknown to the other two; and, as it might be expected, the arrangement of the letters in the Greek and the other two alphabets is totally dissimilar. It is, therefore, surprising that such striking differences did not convince learned men that an alphabet of twenty-two or twenty-eight letters could not possibly have been the origin of one of sixteen; and that no colonists, who had sufficient influence to induce a foreign people to receive their alphabet, would ever have given up, in order to make use of seven sounds previously unknown, eleven or fourteen sounds to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, and without which their own language must have become unintelligible to each other. It is not, therefore, the form of the letters by which the alphabets of different people ought to be identified, but the system of sounds essential to the proper pronunciation of their respective languages; and, whenever this is radically dissimilar, as in the Greek and Samaritan alphabets, it must necessarily follow that the Greeks could not have received theirs from the Phenicians. As, also, there seems to be no doubt that the Phenician was an Arabic dialect, and as the person or colony who is supposed to have introduced letters into Greece must have exerted some influence on its language, the Greek ought consequently at this day to contain many Arabic words: but, as none such exist, their absence confirms the conclusion drawn from the dissimilarity of their alphabetical systems, and both circumstances irresistibly prove that Greece was not indebted, either for its alphabet or for any part of its language, to any people of an Arabic origin.‡

* The present Arabic alphabet is a modern invention, but it cannot be supposed that letters would be invented to express sounds that were unknown to the Arabs.

† This remark must be restricted to the letters of the alphabet; for, in speaking, the Arabs, of course, make use of the three vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, of other people, but these are not represented by distinct characters.

‡ The argument contained in a preceding note (p. 21.) had previously escaped my notice;

But, had a just conclusion been drawn from the premises which ancient writers present, no uncertainty could ever have existed with respect to the country from which Greece derived both her language and her people. In a preceding quotation it has been seen that Thucydides ascribes to the Pelasgi, amongst the other people of early Greece, the principal importance; and it appears from different passages in Strabo and other writers, that they must at one time have possessed nearly the whole country: but Strabo further states, "The Pelasgi were a great nation, as history attests; for Menecrates the Elean, in his work on the foundation of cities, says that the whole of the maritime country, commencing from Mycale, now called Ionia, and the neighbouring islands, were inhabited by the Pelasgi." * The settlements, also, of the Pelasgi in Italy and other places sufficiently attest their numbers and their wide-spread migrations; and the epithet διοι which Homer applies to them, and the honorific epithet *Pelasgic* that not unfrequently occurs in Grecian poetry, fully prove the former power of this once celebrated people. † It is, therefore,

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but it is so ingenious and so conclusive, that it must appear surprising how any person acquainted with the peculiar structure of the Hebrew or Arabic tongue could ever have derived any other language from it: for, in these words, it must be evident that they receive their particular signification from the vowels alone, σαλας, σελως, σελις, συλης; malus, miles, moles, mulus; tan, ten, tin, tone, tun, tune; and in these Sanscrit ones, pati, pita, puta, pota: but it is equally evident that the meaning of these Arabic words, harama, hirman, muharram, hiramat, muhtarim, depends entirely on the radical consonants hrm; because these, and its other derivatives, are merely modifications of the sense of the radical word.

* Strabo, p. 621.

† The following passage in Strabo deserves particular attention: — "But almost every person agrees that the Pelasgi, an ancient people, predominated throughout the whole of Greece, and particularly among the Æolians of Thessaly; and Ephorus is of opinion that, though by origin Arcadians, they embraced a military life, and engaging many people to associate with them they conferred their name on all, and obtained great celebrity, not only among the Greeks but among the other nations where they chanced to come: for even in Crete were colonies of them settled, as Homer sings; since Ulysses thus speaks to Penelope, —

" 'Crete awes the circling waves, a fruitful soil!
And ninety cities crown the sea-born isle:

most unaccountable that, while aware of these circumstances, Grecian writers should prefer to trace the origin of their nation from mixed hordes of barbarians, rather than to derive it from so illustrious a source. The names, also, of mountains and rivers in Thrace, and the birthplaces of their earlier poets, ought to have led them to enquire to what cause the early civilisation of a country, which afterwards relapsed into barbarism, was to be attributed; and they would then have found that it had been occasioned by migrations from Asia Minor of a civilised people, who, after residing some time in Thrace, had proceeded into Greece. The very tract which bodies of men would pursue, previous to the general use of navigation, was thus most

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Mix'd with her genuine sons, adopted names
In various tongues avow their various claims;
Cydonians dreadful with the bended yew,
And bold Pelasgi boast a native's due:'

and Homer also calls that part of Thessaly which is situated between the mouth of the Peneus and Thermopylæ, as far as Pindus, Pelasgian Argos, because the Pelasgi had ruled over it: he further calls the Dodonæan Jupiter Pelasgic, —

"'O thou supreme! high throned all height above!
Oh great Pelasgic, Dodonæan Jove!'

"Many, also, call the people of Epirus Pelasgi, for that far did their sway extend: and numerous heroes, from whom many people were named, were likewise called Pelasgi; for even Lesbos is called Pelasgic; and Homer calls the people who bordered on the Cilicians in the Troad Pelasgi, —

"'The fierce Pelasgi next, in war renown'd,
March from Larissa's ever fertile ground:
In equal arms their brother leaders shine,
Hippothous bold, and Pyleus the divine.'

"The authority on which Ephorus thought that the Pelasgi were Arcadians was Hesiod, who says, 'Six were the sons of godlike Lycaon, whom formerly Pelasgus begot;' and Ephorus also mentions that the Peloponnesus was called Pelasgia; and Euripides, in Archelaus, says that Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, coming to Argos, founded the city of Inachus, and established the custom of calling those who were formerly named Pelasgiotæ Danai. Anticlides writes that the Pelasgi founded Lemnos and Imbros, and that some of them accompanied Tyrrhenus the son of Atys into Italy; the Attic historians, also, relate that the Pelasgi were established in Athens, and that from their wandering about like birds they were called Pelarge" [*i. e.* Storks]. — *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 220, et seq.

clearly pointed out by their own traditions; and yet the writers of Greece have most strangely overlooked the truth, to lose themselves in the mazes of error.

The general opinion of antiquity, at the same time, attests that the matchless poems of Homer were composed in Asia Minor; but Thucydides expressly states that no migrations took place from Greece until at least eighty years after the Trojan war.* Whether, therefore, Homer was born before or after the Ionian migration became, as it appears from Strabo †, a subject of dispute amongst ancient writers; but the arguments and authorities by which they supported their respective opinions, have not been so preserved as to admit of either the one or the other being received as unexceptionable testimony, were even the moderns capable of deciding on these grounds a question which the ancients considered as doubtful: yet the received system of chronology places the capture of Troy in 1184, the Ionian migration in 1044, and the age of Homer in 907 B. C. According, however, to every just principle of reasoning with respect to evidence, the testimony of those Grecian writers who maintain that Homer was born after the Ionian migration, is so evidently influenced by the desire of increasing the glory of their country, by proving that so pre-eminent a poet was of Grecian origin, as to render it of much less weight than that of other writers, who, superior to national prejudice, claimed not Homer for their countryman. Sir Isaac Newton, also, has satisfactorily shown that dependence cannot be placed on the received systems of chronology, and that the dates assigned to the early events of Grecian history rest on no sufficient grounds. He has, therefore,

* Thucydides, lib. i. c. 12.

† Strabo, p. 384. Tatianus, also, apud Euseb. Prep. Evan. lib. x. c. 11., enumerates various writers by whom this subject was discussed; amongst whom Crates placed the time when Homer flourished within eighty years after the capture of Troy, and before the return of the Heraclidæ; Eratosthenes, 100 years after the siege of Troy; and Aristarchus, about the time of the Ionian migration, which occurred 140 years after that event.

The French translators of Strabo decide this question magisterially, without condescending to give any reasons for their opinion; for they observe, in a note on this passage, "La naissance d'Homère est postérieure de deux siècles au moins à l'établissement des Ioniens dans l'Asie Mineure; elle doit avoir lieu environ 900 ans avant notre ère."

fixed the capture of Troy in 904, the age of Homer in 870, and the Ionic migration in 794 B. C., and thus virtually expressed his opinion that Homer was not a native of Greece.

In order, however, that I may not be accused of perverting authorities in order to support a hypothesis, I must be allowed to avail myself of a rather long quotation from Mr. Mitford's History of Greece, as the reasoning contained in it seems to me unanswerable: —" These are then, I believe, the only passages *, within Homer's extant works, that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived: they are not conclusive, and yet, united, they are strong. But the negative evidence, which his works afford in confirmation of them, is such that, but for the respect due to those who have thought differently, and still more perhaps to those who have doubted, I should scarcely hesitate to call the whole together decisive. For, had the return of the Heracleids preceded the times in which Homer flourished, is it conceivable that, among subjects which so naturally led to the mention of it, he should never once have alluded to so great an event, by which so total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and of all the western coast of Asia Minor, with the adjacent Islands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact, that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step, for the purpose of tracing, from remotest antiquity, a complete account of that Peninsula. That in so particular an account of the country, before the Dorian conquest, he should have been so correct that no subsequent inquiry could convict him of any error, and yet that he should not take the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country, which that revolution produced, if he had lived to see them, is not

* One of these passages is as follows: — " In the Odyssey again we find another remarkable passage concerning subjects for poetry: *The Gods wrought the fate of Troy, and decreed the destruction of men, that there might be subjects for poetry to future generations.* Had the poet lived after the return of the Heracleids, the revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting to hearers, in any part of either Greece itself, or the Grecian settlements in Asia Minor, than the war of Troy." — *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 170.

easily imaginable. How naturally, upon many occasions, would some such pathetic observation have occurred concerning the Pelopeid, the Neleid, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad, he makes upon the catastrophe of the royal family of Ætolia. How naturally, too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in Greece and Asia, would some compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Peloponnesus, instead of exiles in the mountains of Doris; and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquisitions of Agamemnon and Nestor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionian migration? Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelopeid and Heracleid families, would he have neglected all and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Æneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of a general name for the Greek nation, and of its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian; we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without images; we must add the little fame of oracles; and his silence concerning the council of Amphictyons; we must add his familiar knowledge of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre; and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that Homer lived before the return of the Heracleids: all together afford also strong proof that the editors of the Rhapsodies found them genuine and gave them so to the world."

The whole, therefore, of the preceding reasoning and authorities seems to prove incontrovertibly that Homer was not a Greek, but a native of Asia Minor; and, consequently, that the language in which his poems are written was formerly the language of that country.

This last conclusion is evidently confirmed by the account of the colony led into Greece by Pelops, the only one of which any particulars have been preserved. But, even with respect to the grandfather of Agamemnon, occurs the usual discordancy in the writings of ancient authors: for by some he is represented as an exile who obtained a small principality by marriage*; Thucydides relates that, though a stranger, he acquired power by bringing from Asia great riches into a poor country†; but Strabo, that he led people from Phrygia into the country since called Peloponnesus.‡ That an individual would become acquainted with the language of the people amongst whom he lived is to be expected; but that a colony so powerful that its leader was enabled to possess himself of the country into which he migrated, and to occasion its ancient name to be superseded by his own, should give up its own language, and acquire a foreign tongue by the second generation so perfectly as not to be distinguished from the original inhabitants, is too inconsistent with probability to appear in the least credible: but, if Pelops led a colony into Greece, this change must either have taken place, as Homer notices no difference in the language of the Peloponnesians from that of the other Greeks, or the mother tongue of the colonists and of the Greeks must have been exactly the same.

The original seat of the Pelasgi, therefore, and the language of Homer, and probably of the colony led by Pelops, demonstrate that Greece derived from Asia Minor her language and her people. The researches of Mr. Mitford have led him to the same conclusion, for he observes, "It appears from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by ancient writers, that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece, were the same people. The Leleges, Caucones, and Pelasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic nations, are mentioned by Strabo as the principal names among those, whom at the same time he calls barbarians, who in earliest times occupied Greece.§..... It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. c. 73.

† Thucydides, lib. i. c. 9.

‡ Strabo, 321.

§ Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 52.

without good grounds, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from Greece to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little, in origin or in language, from the inhabitants of Greece."*

But there seems no doubt that Asia had advanced to a considerable degree of civilisation at a very early period of the world; and, had migrations passed from it into Greece, it is impossible that its early inhabitants existed in that rude and barbarous state described by Grecian writers, and particularly by Thucydides. The picture is, certainly, not flattering; and hence it is concluded that nothing but the truth could have induced a Greek to depict his ancestors in colours so mortifying to his vanity. But from what source did Herodotus and Thucydides derive their knowledge of these circumstances? It is admitted that history was not in being; and, most assuredly, these were not the subjects which tradition would love to select and to dwell upon †; while the very existence of tradition necessarily implies a certain progress in the formation of society, and the occurrence of events that deserved to be remembered. It is evident, therefore, that these descriptions are mere fancy pictures, which are entitled to no more credit than the verses of Hesiod or Ovid; and that nothing whatever is known of the actual state of Greece until the time when Homer composed his immortal poems. But, as usual, the very traditions preserved by the Grecian writers themselves prove that, a considerable time before the Trojan war, the state of society which they describe must have ceased in Greece; and here again I gladly avail myself of Mr. Mitford's assistance, as his authority must be more satisfactory to

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 251.

† Observe these words of Thucydides,— "It appears that the country, now called Greece, was anciently not inhabited in a permanent manner, but migrations were frequent, and those who were compelled by superior numbers readily left their habitations; for there was no commerce, and no easy intercourse with each other either by land or sea; each cultivated what was necessary for his subsistence, and possessed no superfluity of riches; none planted trees, for it was uncertain whether some other would not carry away the fruit; and thus thinking that they would obtain their daily subsistence any where, the inhabitants migrated without difficulty." Again, "In former times all Greece was armed, because their habitations were defenceless, and because they could not otherwise move about in safety." — Lib. i. c. 2. 6.

the reader than any observations of mine: — "Herodotus asserts that the ancient hymns, sung at the festival of Apollo at Delos, were composed by Olen, a Lycian; and Pausanias says that the hymns of Olen the Lycian were the oldest known to the Greeks, and that Olen the Hyperborean, who seems to have been the same person, was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse. It seems a necessary inference that the language both of Thrace and Lycia was Greek. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in Plato's time; and the Thracians, Thamyras, Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus *, with the Lycian Olen, were the acknowledged fathers of Grecian poetry, the acknowledged reformers of Grecian manners; those who, according to Grecian accounts, began that polish in morals, manners, and language, which, in after ages, characterised the Greek and distinguished him from the barbarian." It needs no argument, I presume, to show that poetry, which was admired for its singular sweetness in a polished age, could not have been composed in such a state of society as is described by Thucydides.

If the preceding discussion should appear too prolix, the importance of the subject will, I trust, be considered as a sufficient excuse: for the Egyptian and Phenician origin of the people, language, and letters of Greece is so firmly established an opinion, that even Mr. Mitford has not always been enabled to escape its influence, but has sometimes drawn conclusions that are inconsistent with his own premises; and it therefore became necessary to show that the received systems of chronology and of history, as applicable to the early times of Greece, have been admitted without due examination. The former writings, also, of learned men will evince that a persistance in tracing all languages to the Hebrew, Scythian, or Celtic, must render all enquiries into the affinity of languages an endless reasoning in the same circle, not only without producing any beneficial result, but with the positive disadvantage of giving rise to speculations which

* The period when these person flourished cannot be ascertained. Sir Isaac Newton places Eumolpus 103 years, and Orpheus, who was one of the Argonauts, thirty-three years, before the Trojan war; but their antiquity seems to have been much greater.

cast a ridicule on etymology itself; but, if the language of Greece be the same as that which was anciently spoken in Asia Minor, a new object of enquiry presents itself, the pursuit of which may, perhaps, lead to as much certainty as can ever be acquired with respect to subjects of remote antiquity.

On this point Adelung has advanced the following singular opinion: "Asia Minor was in the oldest times probably inhabited by people of the Semitic branch; who were supplanted in the principal and western division of this country by immigrating colonies of Thracians. In the smaller and eastern division, part was possessed by the Semitic Cilicians and Cappadocians, and part by various small tribes of distinct origin and language." * But he does not sufficiently explain the grounds on which was formed a conclusion that directly contradicts both probability and history; for, even according to the Mosaic account, Babylonia was the country first peopled, and, consequently, Asia Minor must have received its inhabitants from the conterminous country at present called Mesopotamia. But it seems admitted that, in the time of Jacob, his language and that of Chaldea were not the same, and I have perhaps proved, that the language of Abraham could not have been the present Hebrew; whence it necessarily follows that the original language of Asia Minor, if peopled from Babylonia †, was not Semitic. It has also been seen that the first Grecian poet was Olen, a Lycian; and "Olympus, the father of Grecian music, whose compositions, which Plato calls divine, retained the highest reputation even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian. In the Grecian mythology we find continual references to Asiatic and Thracian stories; and even in the heroic ages, which followed the mystic, the Greeks and Asiatics appear to have communicated as kindred people. Pelops, a fugitive Asiatic prince, acquired a kingdom by marriage in Peloponnesus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, in the same manner acquired the

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 344.

† For brevity's sake, I must be allowed to use this word for the whole country which was bounded on the east by Mons Zagros, on the north by the mountains of Armenia, and on the west and south by the Euphrates.

kingdom of Lycia in Asia. Herodotus remarks that the Lydian laws and manners, even in his time, very nearly resembled the Grecian; and the Lycians and Pamphylians were so evidently of the same race with the Greeks, that he supposed them the descendants of emigrants from Crete, from Athens, and other parts of Greece."*

When, therefore, their own mythology and traditions, and the language of their most admired poet, so incontrovertibly proved their origin, at least as far as it was remembered, it seems passing strange that Grecian writers should have concurred in tracing their language, letters, and religion, to Egypt and Phenicia; that most modern writers should have continued in the same error must be ascribed to that necessary connection which they supposed to exist between the Christian religion and the Hebrew language, on which I have before remarked: but the existence of the Pelasgi in Greece is admitted, and their Asiatic origin and their power can scarcely be disputed; in which case their expulsion from that country by rude and innumerous tribes of barbarians must be considered in the highest degree improbable. In what manner, however, their name disappeared in history it is now impossible to ascertain: but there is every reason to conclude that they were the inhabitants of Greece at the period of Pelops's arrival in it; and, as they were a kindred race, they may have gradually become incorporated with the new colonists who, about that time or earlier, migrated from Asia Minor and Thrace; vague conjectures, therefore, and untenable hypotheses must yield to conclusions, the correctness of which are established by their probability, and by their accordance with all that is related in ancient history.

The language, also, in which the Iliad and Odyssey are written, appears much too perfect to render it at all credible that it could have received its wonderful beauty and excellence in such a state of society as Homer describes. When kings dressed their own dinners, and princesses washed their own clothes, the formation of a copious and polished language could not possibly take place; for experience has

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 53.

sufficiently proved that a rude people speak a rude language, and that its refinement is produced solely by the progress of civilisation. To suppose, therefore, that the Greek language started forth at once, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, arrayed in all its strength and majesty, might be consistent with fiction, but would be repugnant to truth. Greek, also, had been employed, long before Homer, in poetical compositions which were admired in later times; and, consequently, with whatever beauties his genius may have embellished the style of his unrivalled poems, still the language had been previously polished and adapted to poetry: but all former productions have perished, and, as the Greeks were neither philologists nor judicious antiquarians, no means now exist for satisfactorily determining the cause to which this striking discordance between the language of Homer and the state of civilisation which he describes ought to be attributed.

I am averse to conjecture and hypothesis, but these Researches would fail in connection did I not propose a solution of this difficulty; for it appears to me extremely probable that, at some remote period, a powerful kingdom may have flourished in the delightful country of Asia Minor, in which the language, afterwards called Greek, was spoken, and in which it received its wonderful refinement and perfection. The rise and fall of kingdoms in Asia seem sufficiently authenticated by history, and this monarchy, therefore, may, either from internal dissensions or from the attacks of a foreign power, have also fallen, and thus have given rise to the number of small states in which Asia Minor was divided at the time of Homer. This supposition receives support from a circumstance which is noticed by Mr. Mitford: — "Homer reckons time upward no further than he can trace the genealogies of his heroes; which all end in a god, a river, or some unaccountable personage in the second, third, or at most fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war. The royal race of Troy forms the only exception; Jupiter was ancestor to Hector in the seventh degree."* If, consequently, Homer had the means of becoming acquainted with the ancestry of

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 168.

his heroes, a knowledge always attributed to him by antiquity, his ignorance of more than four, or at most seven generations, either in Greece or Asia Minor, would seem to be a strong proof that about two hundred years before the siege of Troy some revolution must have taken place in each of these countries: at which time it may be supposed that the small states in Asia Minor, which he enumerates, may have arisen on the ruins of the monarchy which once existed in that country; and that, from the effect of this revolution, originated those families of chiefs and kings, whose ancestry Homer was not able trace beyond the fourth or seventh generation.

To this conjecture, I am aware that the improbability of the Greeks and inhabitants of Asia Minor relapsing into the state of society described by Homer, had they ever acquired a high degree of civilisation under a once flourishing monarchy, forms a strong objection; but, had its subversion been effected by internal dissensions, and more particularly by an irruption of barbarians, a state of comparative anarchy might have ensued after the dissolution of the former government. Hence, mutual intercourse becoming interrupted, and protection insecure, the people might have gradually forgotten the manners of more civilised life, and might have acquired those habits, and that independency, which are the necessary consequences of every man being obliged to depend on his individual exertions for his subsistence and his safety. In Greece, particularly, from the very nature of colonies, and from their perhaps mixing with men less civilised, the arts and institutions of the mother country would be sooner forgotten, and the people would sooner and more completely relapse into that semibarbarous state which is described by Homer. I admit, however, that, unless some fact could be produced which showed that the ancestors of a people so situated had been formerly more civilised, a contrary conclusion would be the most probable; but the language of the Iliad and Odyssey is, I conceive, that very fact, which, like Latin in the middle ages, is an indisputable proof that the people by whom it was originally spoken, and among whom it acquired such

beauty and refinement, must also have attained a high degree of civilisation.*

There are, however, no sufficient means for fixing the precise period when migration proceeded from Asia Minor into Greece; but, judging from the Homeric genealogies, and from the origin of the early Grecian poets being ascribed to Thrace, it would seem most probable that the intercourse been Asia Minor and Greece commenced about two hundred years before the siege of Troy. It would, therefore, be desirable to ascertain the state of that part of eastern Asia which bordered on Asia Minor at this particular period; but the conflicting systems of chronology and ancient history render this impossible, as the only event which could have effected any change in the government of that country, would be the conquest of the Babylonian empire by the Ninus of Herodotus, as I have before supposed. Were this conjecture, however, admitted, and also that Homer could not have been born more than one hundred years after the Trojan war, it would follow that, Homer being born in 907 B. C., the siege of Troy must have happened in 1007 B. C.: but the revolt of the Medes took place, as I have before observed, in 749 B. C., to which add the duration of the Assyrian empire according to Herodotus of 520 years, and the commencement of the reign of Ninus will be in 1269 B. C., conse-

* In his History of Greece, vol. i. p. 93., Mr. Mitford remarks, but not with his usual critical acumen and sound judgment, — "Nor does any circumstance in the early history of the Grecian people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired in an age beyond tradition, and in circumstances apparently most unfavourable; for it was amid continual migrations, expulsions, mixtures of various hordes, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language, so simple in its analogy, of such complex art in its composition and inflexion, of such clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty in its sound. Already in the time of Homer and Hesiod, long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn, on no less authority than that of Plato, that still in his time the diction of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to have lived long before Homer, was singularly pleasing." After these just and forcible praises of the Greek language, can any thing be more unphilological, unphilosophical, and contrary to experience, than to ascribe its formation to such a state of society; for security, leisure, and a certain freedom of mind from other cares are, at least, indispensable for the cultivation and refinement of language.

quently 262 years before the siege of Troy. This date so exactly synchronises with the probable commencement of the intercourse between Greece and Asia Minor, as to render it not unlikely that some revolution in the latter country was the consequence of Ninus's victory over the Babylonian empire; and thus, these several circumstances combined may give much probability to the conjectures that I have proposed.

But the migrations of the Pelasgi must be ascribed to an earlier period, and, supposing that they originally spoke the same language as the colonies which subsequently immigrated into Greece, the identity of this language with that of Asia Minor would become almost demonstrated. Bishop Marsh, however, has remarked that, "after all, then, we must be contented with tracing the Pelasgi up to their *European* settlement in Thrace. *Beyond* that limit their history is all conjecture. We may infer, indeed, from the known progress of migration, that among the ancestors of the *Thracian* Pelasgi some must have been once established in Asia Minor; and Menecrates Elaita, in his work Περι Κτισεων, asserted that they actually *were* so. We may further conclude that *their* ancestors were once established still *more* to the eastward; but Thrace will still remain the limit of the *actual* knowledge which we possess on the origin of the Pelasgi. And it is useful to *know* the limit; for hence we know, when we are arguing about the Pelasgi, whether we are building on a rock, or building on the sand." * When, however, the assistance of ancient writers fails, recourse may be had to affinity of language, as the most certain means of ascertaining the origin of nations. If, therefore, a language actually exists in Asia at this day, which can be incontrovertibly identified with Greek, not only in numerous words, but also in grammatical structure; the Asiatic origin of Greek will scarcely be disputed.

Greek, at the same time, is not an original language, as is sufficiently proved by the impossibility of decompounding many of

* Horæ Pelasgicæ, p. 19.

its words, or tracing all of them to roots existing in itself. The abortive attempts, also, of several writers to find these roots in Hebrew, Celtic, or Gothic; and the equally unsuccessful endeavours to determine the parent tongue of the cognate terms which appear in Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic dialects, must evince that there is some common origin from which all these languages have been derived, which has not been yet ascertained. But, when the reader examines the Comparative Table and remarks contained in the second part of this work, he will perhaps admit that all the difficulties on this point, that have hitherto perplexed etymologists, are satisfactorily and conclusively explained by considering the Sanscrit as either the parent tongue from which the Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic dialects have been derived, or at least as the language which has best preserved the undeniable marks of their common parentage.

But the only country in which Sanscrit still flourishes is India; and, consequently, if Asia Minor be not admitted to be the intermediate country, through which Sanscrit words and Sanscrit grammar have passed into the Greek language, in what manner can this singular circumstance be accounted for? Suppose, however, that Sanscrit was the original tongue of Babylonia, and that Asia Minor was peopled in an early period of the world from this conterminous country; and this supposition alone will, in the simplest and most probable manner, explain the manner in which the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic dialects exhibit such incontrovertible evidence of their common origin. For it must be recollected that their radical affinity with Sanscrit must have existed before the poems written by Homer, because in them the Greek language appears completely formed; and it is sufficiently established by ancient writers, that after the time of Homer no such communication took place among the Greeks, Latins, or Goths, as could have effected any changes in the radical structure of their respective languages: these, consequently, had received that form, which they have in every essential respect preserved until the present

day, at least 1000 years before Christ. Let, therefore, the attention be fixed on this remote date; let the relative position of India and Greece be considered; and let the remarkable affinity that exists between Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Sanscrit be examined; and then the extreme probability of the hypothesis now proposed will at once become evident.

CHAP. VIII.

THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

I SHOULD be relieved from considerable embarrassment, were the following opinion of Horne Tooke well founded: — "But it is a great mistake, into which both the Italian and Latin etymologists have fallen, to suppose that all the Italian must be found in the Latin, and all the Latin in the Greek; for the fact is otherwise. The bulk and foundation of the language is Greek; but great part of the Latin is the language of our northern ancestors, grafted upon the Greek; and to our northern language the etymologist must go for that part of the Latin which the Greek will not furnish. We want, therefore, the testimony of no historians to conclude that the founders of the Roman state and of the Latin tongue came not from Asia, but the north of Europe; for the language cannot lye."* But this opinion, so positively expressed, is disproved by the simple circumstance of there still existing in Latin many Sanscrit words which cannot be found either in Greek or in any of the Teutonic dialects.

But that the antiquarians of Italy have not been able to throw any light on the origin of its primitive inhabitants and their language, appears from the first sentences of Tiraboschi's most learned work on the literature of Italy: — "La Storia Generale," observes he, "della Letteratura Italiana, ch' io intraprendo a scrivere, dee necessariamente prender principio dagli antichi popoli, che in Italia ebbero stanza ed impero. Ma chi furono essi? D' onde, e come vi vennero? Quali furono i lor costumi e loro imprese? Eccoci in una questione, involta ancora fra dense tenebre, cui dottissimi uomini hanno finora cercato in vano di sciogliere e diradare. Aborigini, Ombri, Pelasgi, Tirreni, Liguri, ed altre genti di somiglianti nomi dagli antichi autori si

* Epea Ptereonta, vol. ii. p. 140.

veggono nominati tra quegli, che furon de' primi ad abitare e a coltivare l' Italia; e molti trai moderni scrittori hanno l' ingegno e il saper loro rivolto a indagare l' origine, e a descriver la storia di questi popoli: ognuno di essi forma il suo proprio sistema; ognuno crede di averlo ridotto a quell' evidenza di certezza, a cui un fatto storico si possa condurre; ma questa evidenza comunemente non vedesi, che dagli autori medesimi di tai sistemi: gli altri confessano, che siamo ancora al bujo, e appena sperano di poterne uscire giammai."

As all attempts, however, to trace the Latin language to a Gothic or Celtic origin must, I believe, prove fruitless, it necessarily follows that Italy must have received that part of its inhabitants which has transmitted this language to posterity, if not autochthones, from beyond sea. The manner in which navigation, at so early a period, was conducted is unknown; but there is a singular uniformity in the accounts of ancient writers, in describing Italy as occupied, previous to the arrival of these colonies, by various savage tribes; and in ascribing to these colonies the subsequent civilisation of this delightful country. Among these, the Arcadians of Evander, and the Trojans under Æneas, have acquired such celebrity from the Æneid, that any remarks respecting them are unnecessary; of the Œnotrians, another Arcadian colony, the name only has been preserved; and thus the attention becomes fixed on the people called by the Greeks Tyrrheni, and by the Romans Hetrusci or Tusci. For Tiraboschi observes: — "Gli Etruschi sono que' soli tralle nazioni, che prima della fondazion di Roma abitaron l' Italia, di cui qualche più certa notizia ci sia rimasta. Di essi veggiam farsi menzione in molti degli antichi scrittori, e le cose, che essi quà e là ne dicono sparsamente, bastano a farci intendere, quanto possente nazione essa fosse, e quanto grande imperio avesse ella in Italia. Il regno degli Etruschi (dice Livio) innanzi a' tempi dell' Impero Romano ampiamente si distese e in terra e in mare. Quanto potere essi avessero ne' due mari inferiore e superiore, da cui l' Italia a guisa d' isola vien circondata, il monstrano i loro nomi, che l' uno dagl' Italiani fu detto Tosco con nome alla lor nazione comune, l' altro Adriatico da Adria colonia degli Etruschi. Quindi egli

aggiunge, che l' Italia tutto fino alle Alpi fu da essi abitata, e signoreggiata, toltone solo il piccol tratto di terra, che a' Veneti apparteneva. Nè punto meno onorevole testimonianza rende loro Diodoro Siciliano. *I Tirreni*, dice egli, chiamando con questo nome gli Etruschi, benchè altri vogliano, che due diversi popoli essi fossero, uniti poi e confusi in un solo, *I Tirreni celebri per fortezza e a grande impero saliti, di molte e ricche città furono fondatori. Possenti ancora in armate navali, avendo lungamente signoreggiato il mare, dal lor nome medesimo chiamarono il mar d'Italia. Furono ancora numerosi e forti i loro fanti, ec.* Le quali cose da più altri antichi autori vengono confermate." *

According to Herodotus †, Strabo ‡, Velleius Paterculus, Pliny §, and the general opinion of antiquity, the Hetruscans were a colony who migrated from Lydia; and Dionysius Halicarnasseus is the only author who controverts this conclusion: for he contends that those who assert that the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi were the same people are mistaken, and that the Tyrrheni could not be colonists from Lydia, because they differed from the Lydians in language, customs, and religion. He, therefore, considers it most probable that the Tyrrheni were an indigenous, and not a foreign people ‖: but he does not

* Tiraboschi, Stor. della Let. It., vol. i. p. 2.

† Herodotus, lib. i. c. 94.

‡ Strabo, p. 219.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iii. c. 5.

Virgil was also of the same opinion, or at least has availed himself of the popular belief on the subject, as it appears from these passages in the Æneid:—

"Ad terram Hesperiam venies; ubi Lydius, arva
Inter opima virûm, leni fluit agmine Thybris." Lib. ii. v. 781.

"Haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
Urbis Agyllinæ sedes; ubi Lydia quondam
Gens, bello præclara, jugis insedit Etruscis." Lib. viii. v. 478.

"Tum libera fati
Classem conscendit jussis gens Lydia Divûm,
Externo commissa duci." Lib. x. v. 154.

‖ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom., lib. i. c. 29, 30.

" Abbia pur Dionisio dipinto i Tirreni come ora si fa de' Cinesi, per una nazione diversa in costumi da tutte le altre: noi dopo il Lami in parte lo crederemo esagerato; in parte veridico: ma non perciò crederemo originali e senza esempio le usanze di Etruria. Come

explain in what manner he was enabled to give, in the age of Augustus, so decided a contradiction to the long established opinion respecting the origin of the Hetruscans; and, consequently, his observations on this point can be considered as nothing more than conjectures that rest on no authority. The ancient writers, at the same time, concur in stating that the Pelasgi once occupied part of Italy; but a doubt exists whether these Pelasgi were the same people as the Tyrrheni, or not. Strabo describes them as having accompanied the Lydians*; but Pliny distinguishes them, for he states, "Adnectitur septimæ in qua Hetruria est ab amne Macra, ipsa mutatis sæpe nominibus. Umbros inde exegere antiquitus Pelasgi; hos Lydi, a quorum rege Tyrrheni, mox a sacrifico ritu lingua Græcorum Thusci sunt cognominati." †

But, if I have succeeded in showing that the Pelasgi were a people of Asia Minor, and that the Greek language was formerly spoken in that country, this difference of opinion respecting the Pelasgi, and whether or not they migrated directly from Greece, is immaterial; because their language would, in either case, have been precisely the same. If, therefore, the Pelasgi possessed Hetruria at the time when the Lydians arrived there, it would seem most probable that, being of the same, or of a kindred race, they would, instead of having been expelled from the country, have become incorporated with the new colonists; and that, in consequence of the superior power of the latter, the Pelasgic name became superseded by that of the Tyrrheni or Hetrusci. In which case the ancient language of Hetruria must

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i suoi caratteri differivano a' tempi di Dionisio da quegli delle altre genti; ma in età più remote erano stati i caratteri della Grecia; così alcune sue usanze differivano a' tempi di Dionisio dal resto de' popoli, ma in altr' età erano state in moda nella Grecia, e nell' Asia. Più che una nazione è superstiziosa, più è tenace degli usi antichi; l' Etrusca che in superstizione le vinse tutte, dovea vincerle anche in quest' attaccamento: così ella differiva dalle altre non perchè avesse origine da tutte diversa, come Dionisio vorrebbe; ma perchè ella riteneva alquanti costumi, già smessi e obbliterati da tutte. Alcuni anche ve ne saranno stati unici e proprj suoi: ma qual popolo non ebbe i suoi usi?" — *Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. ii. p. 129.

* Strabo, p. 219.

† Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iii. c. 5.

have been radically the same as Greek, and if, consequently, any remains of that language have been preserved, they ought to exhibit this identity in a form the most unquestionable: but, on the contrary, if the Eugubian tablets have been correctly deciphered, and if they contain an accurate specimen of the Hetrurian tongue, Dionysius Halicarnasseus was correct in asserting that it bears no affinity to any other language.

Of these tablets Gorius gives the following account *: —"Monumentorum omnium, quotquot exstant ad hoc tempus, Ægyptiis exceptis, antiquissimæ sunt aheneæ tabulæ Eugubinæ, dubio etiam procul genuinæ ac sinceræ, proindeque toto orbe celeberrimæ, quæ in publico Eugubinorum tabulario nunc diligentissime adservantur. Hæ sunt septem: duæ Pelasgicis †, quinque Etruscis litteris scriptæ, haud quidem unica, sed diversa manu, diverso etiam stilo ac forma. His si addendam existimes illam, perbrevem quidem, votivam tabulam, quæ incipit LERPIRIOR, editam a Sponio, a qua removendæ sunt figuræ Apollinis et Clatræ, quæ eidem inscriptioni Pelasgicæ coævæ non sunt, sed παρεργα, ab imperito exscriptore addita, censeri debent, ut nuper erudite observavit V. C. Hannibal de Abbatibus Oliverius, Patricius Pisaurensis, mihi amicissimus, erunt octo: et hæc tabula non Eugubii, sed Romæ exstare dicitur: si vero addendam censes et alteram, a reliquis diversam, quæ incipit CLAVERNIVR, erunt novem; quarum quatuor ad veteres Pelasgos, quinque ad Etruscos, id literis perspicue indicantibus, indubitanter pertinent.

"Eugubii sive, ut veteres dixere, Iguvii, Umbrorum urbe nobilissima, anno 1444, prope theatrum, in subterranea quadam concameratione, hæ tabulæ insignes inventæ sunt. Statim ac fama hujus præclari inventi increbuit, atque inscriptiones innotuere, mirum quantum in illustranda Etruscorum prisca lingua desudarint illustres ingenio et linguarum scientia viri: quot alphabeta in lucem prodierint: quot etiam adhuc ubique latitent, præsertim vero in Florentinis biblio-

* See also Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum, p. 142.

† By this term Gorius means the Roman letters, as it appears from the contrasted Hetrurian and Pelasgic alphabet which he has given.

thecis, quæ vidi. Per annos ducentos et octoginta ab eo tempore, quo inventæ sunt hæ tabulæ Eugubinæ, qua concinnandis alphabetis, qua ostendenda Etruscæ linguæ origine desudatum est: aliis ex Hebraico et Chaldaico fonte; aliis ex Syriaco, et ut volebant, Aramæo; aliis ex Hebraico sive Assyrio; aliis ex Phœnicio saltem et Punico; singulis pro lubito, quod videbatur, vocum Etruscarum etymon deducentibus ac proponentibus, irrito labore: nam quomodo legendi essent characteres et inscriptiones, quod erat faciendum, nondum nemo monstraverat." *

But Gorius has been as unsuccessful as his predecessors in producing a satisfactory explanation of these inscriptions; for, in the one that he has interpreted and analysed, I can only discover, out of ninety distinct words, these four, *frater*, *pure*, *tris*, and *sakre*, which bear any resemblance to Latin or Greek, or any other language with which I am acquainted. Nor does the explanation of Gorius rest on identity or similarity of words, but on conjectures that seem to me at variance with every principle of philology. "PVRTVVITV," he observes, "vox composita ex duabus: altera PVR, Gr. πυρος, frumentum; supra scriptum est PIR in vers. 21. quæ vocales facile commutantur: altera TVVITV quasi TVFITV, a τικτω, pario, gigno, creo: est etiam τιφη, ut diximus, frumentum. Nostrum belle respondet *la portata*; nempe segetum et frugum fœtus, copiam." It must be obvious that

* Museum Etruscum, vol. i. p. 47.

Pignotti, in his Storia di Toscana, vol. i. p. 97., observes, "Finalmente, avendo sempre davanti agli occhi la lingua Latina per iscorta, dà il Lami una traduzione della stessa Tavola Eugubina che il Gori ha interpretata, e da lui chiamata *Carmen Orthium lamentabile*. Chi ama vedere in quanto diverse e lontane strade sieno talora deviati da' loro imaginarj sistemi gli antiquarj, legga le due traduzioni: è certo che, quantunque confuse entrambe, si cava senso più netto da quella del Lami, benchè quest' illustre letterato, forse accorgendosi del comune errore, e di essersi anch' egli smarrito in questo laberinto, e forse deridendo le inutili fatiche degli antiquarj, scherza con quei versi dell' Ariosto:

"'Varj gli effetti son, ma la pazzia
E tutt' una però che gli fa uscire,
Gli è come una gran selva, ove la via
Conviene a forza a chi vi va, fallire:
Chi sù, chi giù, chi quà, chi là travia ec.'

"Non si può adoprare un' imagine più atta a rappresentare i viaggi ipotetici degli antiquarj per gli oscuri sentieri delle congetture."

to compound and decompound the words of any language in this manner, requires a most complete acquaintance with its grammar, its analogy, and its rules of composition. But nothing is known of the Hetrurian, except a few inscriptions which are supposed to belong to it, and, consequently, unless the words contained in them were nearly identical with those of some other language, all attempts to interpret them must be fruitless.* That the letters, however, in which they are written, are nearly the same as the Greek and Roman is evident, and it must be concluded that these tablets were intended as a record of some circumstance; but it does not hence follow that the language in which they are written is that which was spoken by the Hetrurians, or, even were it, that its pronunciation is correctly represented by the letters.† In this state of uncertainty, therefore, the Eugubian tablets

* Pignotti, however, observes, "Dopo le fatiche di tanti l' alfabeto del Gori è il più ricevuto: nondimeno il Sig. Ab. Lanzi, che con tanta copia di erudizione ha trattato il soggetto, vi ha trovato da fare qualche cambiamento. Questo dotto uomo è d' accordo col Gori sulla somiglianza della lingua Etrusca colla Greca e la Latina." — *Storia di Toscana*, vol. i. p. 92.

Gibbon was also of opinion that, though "the savage dialect of the Eugubine tables has exercised, and may still elude, the divination of criticism, the root is undoubtedly Latin of the same age and character as the Saliare Carmen, which, in the time of Horace, none could understand." — *Gibbon's Roman Empire*, vol. viii. p. 5.

† To make myself more clearly understood, it is well known that in Arabic and Persian the short vowels are not represented by characters, and that the diacritical points which may supply their place are generally omitted in writing; and, in Sanscrit, the short *a* is inherent in all consonants, and never represented by its character except at the beginning of words.

I had written this remark before I had obtained Lanzi's valuable work, but I am glad to find its correctness confirmed by him. For he remarks, "Nell' antica ortografia si tralasciava qualche vocale nel mezzo della parola, ed era quella *quam syllaba nomine suo exprimit*; v. gr. *B.* pronunziandosi *Be*; invece di Lebero (cioè Libero) scrivevano solamente Lębro, come nell' ara di Pesaro. Vittorino adduce questi esempj, *Bne* per *bene*, *Cra* per *cerâ*, *Krus* per *carus*, *Dcimus* per Decimus. .... Spesso anche son popolari accorciamenti come *poclum*, *vinclum*, ove non si supplisce l' ausiliare, ma diversa lettera." — *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. i. p. 118.

In another place, vol. ii. p. 21., he further observes, "Riferita l' iscrizione, la leggo ove può esservi ambiguità; aggiugnendo a ogni consonante la sua ausiliare come si usa in lingue orientali, o la sua finale. Noi veramente non possiam sapere quali massime in ciò avessero gli Etruschi." In which case it must be evident, that the deciphering of the Eugubian tablets proceeds on grounds much too uncertain to admit of the result being received without caution and reservation.

cannot be considered as in the least invalidating the testimony to the origin of the Latin language, which is afforded by probability, by its own internal evidence, and by the accounts of ancient writers.

I observe that it is a disputed point, whether the Hetrurians received the arts from the Greeks or not; and the clear and just point of view in which Pignotti has placed the question, applies so particularly to the subject of this and the preceding chapter, that the reader will perhaps be pleased with my quoting his remarks:—"E inutile pertanto il perder tempo a investigare da qual altro popolo gli Etruschi abbiano apprese le belle arti. Nulla vi è di sicuro tralle tenebre dell' antichità, onde abbiamo tutto il dritto di supporre che siano nate, e cresciute in Etruria, come lo furono in India, in Egitto. Che i Greci nell' antiche emigrazioni in Etruria vi abbiano portate le belle arti, come ha creduto Winckelmann, è non solo incerto, ma probabilmente falso, giacchè l' epoca della gloria dell' arti Greche essendo posteriore a quella dell' Etrusche, sarà difficile il dimostrare che i Greci coloni di quei tempi fossero più culti dei loro contemporanei Etruschi. Ma scorriamo varie epoche dell' antica Grecia, dalle quali si possa dedurre, se in questo paese si coltivassero le arti nei tempi, ne quali fiorivano in Etruria. Nella prima sua epoca, di cui esiste memoria, dominata dai feroci Pelasgi, e dai rozzi Elleni, niuna idea ebbe d' arti imitative. Successero i tempi eroici; e la nave Argo tanto celebrata non condusse probabilmente che dei corsari, che andavano in Colco a rapire l' oro che si estraeva dall' arene del fiume Fasi. Successe la guerra de' sette Eroi contro Tebe, e finalmente la celebre guerra Trojana. Per tutti questi tempi, non si ha il più piccolo indizio che fossero coltivate le belle arti in Grecia, ma solo la poesia, che fra le nazioni anche le più rozze è stata compagna degli eroi e dei guerrieri. Dopo la ruina di Troja, i principi ch' erano stati tanti anni assenti dai loro dominj, li ritrovarono tutti sconvolti, pronti a sollevarsi; onde turbata la pace domestica, ne seguirono fierissime guerre civili, che desolarono quel paese per circa quattro secoli, eloquentemente descritte da Tucidide. Il quattro secolo dopo la ruina di Troja coincide coll' origine di Roma, tempo in cui gli industri Toscani, le di cui città erano floridissime

e godevano una tranquilla pace, dipingevano, e gettavano maravigliosamente il bronzo; giacchè ci attesta Plinio, che le pitture di Ardea e di Lanuvio erano anteriori a Roma, e che il carro trionfale di Romolo fu gettato in bronzo dagli Etruschi artefici." *

The preceding remarks will, perhaps, have shown that it was not to Greece, but to Asia Minor, that Hetruria was indebted for her principal people, her language, and her arts. The last, no doubt, acquired in their new country greater perfection; for Asia seems to have never made any considerable progress in the cultivation of the fine arts: but it appears equally evident that the Hetrurians cannot have held in esteem either literature or poetry; since, had this been the case, imperial Rome would unquestionably have appropriated to her own use the literary riches of Hetruria, in the same manner as she has adorned herself with the spoils of Greece. No Homer, however, arose in Hetruria to immortalise the glory of his country, nor a single man of genius to please and instruct the world. It is to this cause that the Hetrurians must attribute the loss of their ancient fame: for, though poesy may be the companion of heroes and warriors even among the rudest people, still it and prose alone can transmit to posterity a knowledge of former events; and a single book of Homer presents more information respecting the men and the times that he has celebrated, than can ever be elicited from all the paintings and sculptures of Hetruria. The philologist, in particular, has just reason to complain of this neglect of literature, because it opposes an almost invincible obstacle to his researches into the origin and progress of that language which was spoken by the masters of the world: for the first work composed in Latin must have been written a thousand years after Tyrrhenus, Evander, and Æneas had led their colonies into Italy; and thus all conclusions respecting the formation of this language can be deduced only from its own internal evidence, and from the affinity which it bears to other languages.

But, if Hetruria and Latium were peopled by colonies from Asia Minor, or by Pelasgi from Greece, it would necessarily follow that the

* Pignotti, Storia di Toscana, vol. i. p. 117.

Hetrurian and Latin languages were originally the same. Lanzi, also observes, "Vi è stato chi ha asserito che le altre lingue sien quasi altrettanti dialetti della Etrusca; non eccettuandone la stessa lingua Latina; e ne dà per fondamento sì la potenza di questa nazione, sì la dottrina. Gli Etruschi signoreggiarono una volta quasi per tutta Italia, se crediamo a Servio o a qualunque sia de' Grammatici, da cui egli trasse quella nota *in Tuscorum jure pœne omnis Italia fuerat.* Perduto questo, tenner tuttavia il primato nelle scienze: da essi Roma, non che altro popolo, era istruita nelle divine lettere e nelle umane. Or chi non sa che un popolo bellicoso distendendo l' impero distende il linguaggio; e che un popol dotto, insegnando e scrivendo, comunica ai forestieri insieme con le sue cognizioni anche i suoi vocaboli?" Lanzi, however, adds, "Nondimeno io non so recarmi a credere, che quegli altri dialetti abbian origine dall' Etrusco, ancorchè vi abbiano somiglianza. Qualunque fosse l' antica patria de' Tirreni, di che tanto si è questionato, e tuttavia ne restiamo incerti, questo almeno può assicurarsi, ch' essi non sono il più antico popolo d'Italia." * But, when the question is not respecting the derivation of the other dialects of Italy from the Hetruscan language, but merely respecting their affinity with it, the objections of Lanzi to the former do not apply to the latter. He admits, at the same time, that traces of Greek and Latin are to be found in the Hetruscan, and he observes, "Che se Greci son questi nomi, il Greco dunque s' insinuò presto in questa lingua: col Greco dunque potrà indagarsi più facilmente, che con altro più remoto idioma. Se poi consideriamo i nomi de' luoghi, o delle persone e delle famiglie, troveremo, pressochè tutte esser voci comuni a' Romani e agli Etruschi; e con poche variazioni ridursi l' un dialetto all' altro. Che se Latini sono nella parola; nelle desinenza spesso son nomi Greci; onde ravvisare in essi il concorso delle due favelle." † This last circumstance, in particular, must tend strongly to prove that the Latin is not derived from the Greek, and to confirm the supposition that these are merely cognate languages, and that

* Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p 16, 17.

† Ibid. p. 41.

both are derived from that primitive tongue which was spoken at some remote period in Asia Minor.

Lanzi further remarks, " Aggiungasi che la letteratura de' Romani ne' primi secoli di Roma era studiar la lingua e le scienze Etrusche, come poi le Greche: ed è natural cosa ch' Etruscizzassero allora quei che sapevano, quanto Grecizzarono di poi; quindi certe iscrizioni nella seconda Tavola, che pajono Etrusche più che Romane." * I avail myself, also, of the following clear and concise remarks of Lanzi, for the purpose of stating the opinion which is generally entertained respecting the origin of the Latin language: — " *Or essendo l' Italia da ogni lato piena di Greci,* conchiude il Sig. Olivieri, dopo simil' enumerazione, *chi mai creder potrà che altra lingua si usassé in Italia fuor che la Greca*; o se ciò par troppo, più che la Greca? Per altro dovea questa favella esser varia, perchè discesa da varj luoghi; scorretta, perchè serbata tra 'l volgo; alterata, perchè mista de' vocaboli primitivi d' Italia; se deon' ammettersi altri progenitori fuor di quegli nominati da Servio; ma nondimeno Greca nel suo fondo, e in gran parte de' suoi vocaboli. La lingua Latina, e la Greca, mille anni e poco più innanzi Augusto, *non erano che due dialetti di uno stesso idioma,* dice il prefato Olivieri. La Etrusca stessa (non che le altre) non è che una derivazione della Greca, come par che insinui Bochart, come affirma Chisull, come accennano Bourguet et Gori, anzi in qualche luogo dell' opera Lami stesso: nè forse per altra ragione due dialetti laterali egli appella l' Etrusco, e il Latino." †

But, notwithstanding this generally received opinion, it seems much more probable that Latin was derived from the same country to

* Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 45.

To the original identity of the Hetruscan and Latin, it may be objected, that their dissimilarity in later times disproves their common origin; for Livy, lib. ix. c. 36., in relating the events of the year 308 B. C., remarks, — " Cære educatus [M. Fabius] apud hospites, Etruscis inde literis eruditus erat, linguamque Etruscam probe noverat. Habeo auctores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos." But this dissimilarity may have been dialectic only, such as now exists among the Teutonic dialects, and, consequently, does not disprove the derivation of the Hetruscan and Latin from a common origin.

† Ibid. p. 28, 29.

which Greece herself was indebted for her language: for, as ancient history attests that Pelasgi, Lydian, and Trojan colonies, far more numerous and powerful than the Arcadian, migrated into Italy, and that subsequent to these migrations no Grecian colonies settled in Hetruria or Latium, it becomes impossible to understand in what manner the dialects of the Hetrurians and Latins could acquire any affinity to Greek, unless the languages of Asia Minor and Greece were originally the same. The difficulties, also, under which learned men have laboured in attempting to explain the cause of this affinity, must alone render their opinions extremely questionable; since, being obliged to admit this affinity and at the same time the great difference which exists between Greek and Latin, they substitute a mere name for an explanation, and ascribe both the difference and the affinity to the Latin having been derived from the Æolic dialect of the Greek. But, before this alleged cause can be admitted, it must be proved that Æolian colonies were established in Hetruria and Latium, by means of which this dialect was communicated to their inhabitants, and on this material point all ancient writers are decidedly silent.* The affinity, therefore, between the Greek and Latin being undisputed, it would certainly seem most probable that these languages were originally the same, and that the difference now existing between them has proceeded from long separation, and from the Greeks having preserved the parent tongue more pure and less subject to alteration than the Romans. The language, also, of Asia Minor may not have acquired, at the time of the Pelasgic and Lydian migrations into Italy, that degree of excellence which Plato admired in the poems of Orpheus; and, in the works of Homer and preceding poets, the Greeks possessed, at a very early period, a fixed standard for their language. Greece, at the same time, seems to have been, from the Trojan war, occupied solely by the people who have become so celebrated under the name of Greeks, and, consequently, no essential

* I am aware that the Arcadian dialect is supposed to be the same as the Æolic; but it clearly appears that it could not be the Arcadian colonies who communicated their language to Hetruria and Latium.

change could occur in their language. But Italy was very differently situated, for there no poets arose to preserve the language of their country; and, though the exact state of its original inhabitants, or the foreign accessions which they may have received subsequent to the migrations from Asia Minor, are unknown, it is still obvious that the language of these colonists must have been greatly affected by such an intermixture.

It deserves, also, to be particularly remarked, that the existing difference between Greek and Latin demonstrates, on the soundest principles of philology, that the latter was not derived from the former, but that both languages were originally the same; for they differ principally in words, and bear the closest affinity to each other in their grammatical structure. But no argument can be necessary to show that the latter is such an essential and immutable part of language, that, however words may become obsolete or new ones may be formed or adopted, still, under all such changes, whether in the native or in a foreign country, the grammatical structure remains almost entirely unaffected; because the vitality of this principle is fully exemplified in the alterations which Latin itself has been subjected to, in order to accommodate it to the scanty system of grammatical inflection which characterises the Gothic languages. Words for objects before unknown the conquerors received from the conquered, but cases, tenses, and moods they disdained. The one might with a little attention be remembered, but the other could not be acquired without submitting to painful tuition. The grammatical structure, however, of the Latin has suffered changes, as it evidently appears from the irregularities of some parts of its grammar: but this circumstance was the necessary effect of the intermixture of the colonists from Asia Minor with the prior inhabitants of Italy, and, particularly, of the language having remained, for perhaps a thousand years, merely a spoken tongue, without being cultivated or employed in literary composition; for experience shows that, until a language has been fixed by its general employment in writing, it is always subject to the greatest fluctuation.

It will, at the same time, appear, from the second part of this work, that there are 208 Sanscrit words in Greek which are not to be found in Latin, and 188 in Latin which exist not in Greek.* Different conclusions may, perhaps, be drawn from this circumstance; and the maintainers of the Greek origin of the Latin may observe, in the words of Horace, —

> " Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
> Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
> Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata, vigentque."

But, as these Latin words have corresponding terms in Greek, and as the genius of Greek is averse to synonymes, it must appear extremely improbable that, at the time of the Arcadian migrations into Italy, two synonymous words should have existed in Greek, the one of which has been preserved by the Romans, and the other by the Greeks; and utterly impossible that the latter should have given up a term in common use, in order to invent a new one. These, however, are the only means by which the existence of Sanscrit words in Latin, which are unknown to Greek, can be explained, had these words ever composed part of the Greek language, after it acquired its present form. Their improbability, if not impossibility, consequently, demonstrates that these words actually belonged to that language which was originally spoken by the progenitors of the Greek and Latin people. To evince that this conclusion is well founded, the slightest inspection of these words in the second part will be sufficient; for they consist of all the different parts of speech, and are applicable to such a variety of objects and ideas, as to prove incontrovertibly that had they ever existed in Greek, as polished and refined in the time of Homer, they would still

* What, also, is the precise number of words common to Greek and Latin? This is a point which I have not been able to ascertain satisfactorily; but, as in the 2200 roots given by MM. du Port Royal, there are 183 words only common to both these languages, it may be concluded that there are more Sanscrit than Greek words in Latin. As, likewise, of these 183 words, 130 are Sanscrit; these circumstances must tend strongly to prove that it is from Sanscrit, and not from Greek, that Latin is derived.

be found in that language.* Their non-existence in it, therefore, and their perfect identity with the words of another language which contains many terms both Greek and Latin, must be considered as conclusive proofs that the generally received opinion, that Latin is derived from Greek, rests on no sufficient foundation.

* "Vi sono in oltre nel Latino delle vochi che nel cognito Greco non si rintracciano; ond' è che Vossio ne cercò etimologia nell' Ebraico, altri nel Celtico, altri nell' Ibero. Di tali voci dico io doversi almen *dubitare* che fossero nell' antichissimo Greco. Noi lo possiamo distinguere in pristino Ellenico, ed in Pelasgico..... Egli non ci fa a dire qual proporzione avesse all' Ellenico, se come lingua a lingua, se come dialetto più antico o più [meno?] misto a più moderno e più schietto; congettura che posse barbaro, ma non l' assevera; conclude che avanzi ancora ne rimanevano in Tracia e in Italia, ove dicemmo che influì nelle nostre favelle; anche in quella della nascente Roma..... Ma poichè Erodoto pel Pelasgico, Varrone ed altri per l' antico Ellenico ci additan l' Italia; per tracciarli cerchiamone in essa e in Roma. Nè l' uno nè l' altro può restringersi al Greco cognito, che troviam nel Latino; adunque deon essere in quel Latino, la cui origine meno è cognita."—*Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. i. p. 448, 449.

To a certain extent, these conjectures of Lanzi will be found verified in a singular manner by the result of these Researches.

CHAP. IX.*

ON THE GREEK, LATIN, AND SANSCRIT ALPHABETICAL SYSTEMS.

An apparently valid objection to the identification of Greek and Latin with the language which was anciently spoken in Asia Minor, but which has now become extinct, except so far as undeniable proofs of its existence have been preserved in Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, may perhaps arise from a supposed dissimilarity in their alphabetical systems. To obviate, therefore, this objection, it becomes indispensable to enter into an examination of that obscurest and most contested of all subjects, the origin of alphabetical characters. But it seems that the generally received opinion attributes their origin to Phenicia, and their communication to other nations to Cadmus or the Pelasgi. In the search after truth, however, I may be permitted to profess myself

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri;"

and to consider myself at liberty to reject the opinions of learned men, if they be inconsistent with the plainest principles of common sense and sound reasoning. For how is it possible to acquiesce in the correctness of such an account as this?—"The Pelasgi were of Phenician original: we learn from Sanchoniatho, that the sons of the Dioscuri and Cabiri wrote the first annals of Phenician history by the command of Taaut, the first inventor of letters. These men made ships of burden, and being cast upon the coast about forty miles from Pelusium they built a temple; this event happened in the second generation after the deluge recorded by Moses. These Phenicians were called Pelasgi, from their passing by sea, and wandering from one country to another."† I prefer rather to adopt the opinion of Cour de Gebelin:

* For the illustration of the remarks contained in this Chapter, see Plates A No. 1., A No. 2., B No. 1., B No. 2., C, D No. 1., D No. 2., D No. 3.

† Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 52.

—"Tels sont," says he, "à peu près les divers systèmes qu'on a proposés jusques ici sur les tems et sur les lieux où parut l'écriture pour la première fois, et sur les objets qui servirent de modèle à son inventeur. On voit que ces systèmes, semblables aux héros de Cadmus, se combattent et s'entre-détruisirent tous; et qu'après les avoir tous lus, on retombe dans les ténèbres dont on espéroit sortir par leur moyen. Faudra-t-il donc abandonner tous ces guides, et renoncer à avoir des idées plus nettes, plus précises, plus exactes sur un objet aussi intéressant et aussi étroitement lié avec l'Histoire de la Parole? Mais, dira-t-on, comment, être plus heureux? En n'imaginant point de système; en réunissant tous les monumens, tous les faits, en les comparant, en se rendant attentif à tout ce qu'ils nous apprennent; en évitant les méprises de ceux qui nous ont précédés, et qui ont presque toujours pris un champ beaucoup trop resserré."*

The opinion, at the same time, of ancient writers, that letters derived their origin from Phenicia, seems to rest entirely on the authority of Herodotus. But Herodotus invalidates his own account, by adding, — Πρωτα μεν τοισι και ἁπαντες χρωνται Φοινικες· μετα δε, χρονου προβαινοντος, ἁμα τη φωνη μετεβαλον και τον ρυθμον των γραμματων†; and further, Ιδον δε και αυτος Καδμηια γραμματα εν τῳ ἱρῳ του Απολλωνος του Ισμηνιου εν Θηβῃσι τῃσι Βοιωτων, επι τριποσι τισι εγκεκολαμμενα, τα πολλα ὁμοια εοντα τοισι Ιονικοισι.‡ For, if, at the time when Herodotus lived, the supposed Cadmean letters greatly resembled the Ionian, either the latter had not materially changed their forms and sounds, as first stated, or the former could not have been the same as the Phenician; because it cannot be denied that, 450 years before Christ, the Greek and Phenician alphabets were radically dissimilar.§ As, therefore, the reason assigned by Herodotus for denominating the ancient letters of Greece Cadmean is inconsistent in itself, and as he merely says, Ουκ εοντα [τα γραμματα]

* Monde Primitif, vol. iii. p. 398.

† Herod., lib. v. c. 58. ‡ Ibid. p. 59.

§ "The Ionian letters on the medals and other monuments of his [Herodotus's] age now extant, are evidently very different from the Phenician."—*Knight's Analysis of the Greek Alphabet*, p. 120.

πριν Ἑλλησι, ΩΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΕΙΝ, it may be concluded that alphabetical characters had been known in Greece previous to the arrival of Cadmus; in which case there is no conceivable cause which could have induced the people to give up their own letters, and to adopt those of a stranger.

Were, however, this account of Herodotus admitted, it would only be explaining *obscurum per obscurius;* for neither he nor any other ancient writer explains the form, sound, and order of the Phenician letters; and without this indispensable information it is impossible to form any opinion respecting their resemblance to the Greek. But the authors of the Ancient Universal History remark, that "the language of the Phenicians was a dialect of the Hebrew, the same with that of the ancient Canaanites. Their letters were either the same with, or very like to, those of the ancient Samaritans."* Bochart, also, is of the same opinion; for he observes, — "Denique res ipsa docet literas e Phœnicia in Græciam allatas. Primo si figuram spectes, Græcæ literæ, maxime antiquiores illæ, quarum exempla in Eusebianis profert doctissimus Scaliger, vetustis Phœnicum literis, quibus hodie utuntur Samaritani, in plerisque tam sunt similes, ut nemini non pateat illas ex his esse expressas."† But his identification of the Phenician or Samaritan alphabet with the Greek is inadmissible; because, if the authority of ancient writers is considered sufficient to establish the Phenician origin of letters, its validity to prove that the ancient Greek alphabet consisted of sixteen or eighteen letters only ought equally to be admitted. Bochart, however, is obliged in order to effect this identification, to employ not only four of the letters which were subsequently added to the Greek alphabet, but also the episemons, *bau*, *koppa*, and *sanpi*, the existence of which as letters has never been proved‡; while, on the contrary, he rejects both the upsilon and the digamma, the existence of which cannot be disputed. His failure, therefore, is sufficient to disprove the fancied identity of the Phenician

* Anc. Un. Hist., vol. ii. p. 20. † Boch. Cha., lib. i. c. 20.

‡ They are not noticed in Mr. Payne Knight's Analysis of the Greek Alphabet.

and Greek alphabets, if the Samaritan is considered to be the same as the former.

Apparently aware of this difficulty, other writers assume that the Phenician alphabet consisted of sixteen letters only. Astle even asserts that they were no more than thirteen in number.* But on what authority these suppositions were founded, I have not been able to ascertain; for, on referring to the Phenician alphabets annexed to the Mémoire of M. Barthelemy on this subject, I find that No. 1. consists of eighteen letters, No. 2. of twelve, and No. 3. of nineteen.† It will, however, be admitted, that the collecting the letters of any language from inscriptions and medals, is a method much too uncertain to determine the number of letters of which its alphabet might be composed; and this variation in the number, resulting from an examination of inscriptions and medals collected in three different places, must render the completeness of these alphabets very doubtful.‡ That all three must be incomplete is evident from there being no character to represent *p*, or a substitute for this letter; a deficiency that does not exist in any known language.§ From this circumstance it might be much more justly concluded that, on a further examination of Phenician inscriptions and medals, all the twenty-two letters of the Samaritan and Hebrew alphabets would be found, than that the Phenician alphabet itself consisted of thirteen or sixteen letters only.

It is further contended that, as the ancient Greek letters were written from right to left, and as the Samaritan have been always written in this manner, it must follow that the former were derived from the latter. But it is incorrect to argue from the present day to a remote period of antiquity; for, in ancient times, Phenicia and

* Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 50.

† Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc., vol. xxx. p. 425.

The Phenician alphabet given by Cour de Gebelin, in Plate VI. of Monde Primitif, vol. iii., does not correspond in any respect with the alphabets published by the Academy.

‡ The Phenician alphabet taken from a marble at Oxford, and inserted in the first plate of Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, consists of fifteen letters; and that given by Dutens, in his Explication des quelques Médailles Grecques et Pheniciennes, of nineteen.

§ The Arabs have no *p*, but they have an *f*.

Samaria were not the principal nations of Asia, and it cannot be supposed that the knowledge of letters was confined to these inconsiderable and unfrequented countries. Until, therefore, it be proved that 1600 years B. C. no other people in Asia, except the Phenicians, wrote from right to left, it is evident that no just conclusion can be drawn from this peculiarity. But there is one circumstance that seems to be entirely overlooked, which is of itself alone sufficient to disprove the Phenician origin of the Greek letters; for Mr. Payne Knight remarks that "None of the ancient oriental alphabets had any vowels*, except the Phenician, and that had properly only two, the aleph and the ain, signifying (as I am inclined to think) merely the different degrees of aperture the mouth required to pronounce the words represented by the consonants. The Greeks, even in the very earliest stage to which their alphabet can be traced, had five; all which (except the alpha borrowed from the Phenicians) appear to be their own invention." † But can any thing be more improbable, than that the same people who could invent characters for four vowels should find it necessary to receive one from strangers, and that vowel the very one which is the easiest and most frequent of utterance? If, however, the Greeks invented any part of their alphabetical characters, or rather if they were brought into Greece by the Pelasgi, it seems most probable that the whole was also derived from the same origin; and this conclusion is much too consonant with reason, to be in the least invalidated by the fancied resemblance which is supposed to exist between some of the Phenician ‡ and Greek letters.

The opinion of Pliny, therefore, seems most probable; for he

* This remark ought to be restricted to the alphabets of Phenicia, Palestine, and Syria; because it is not known whether the alphabet of ancient Persia had vowels or not, and the alphabets of India have not only vowels, but characters for the long and short sounds of *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*.

† Analysis of the Greek Alphabet, p. 16, 17.

‡ I use this term in compliance with common usage, but it seems to me that the very existence of ancient Phenician letters remains still to be proved; for, hitherto, this important fact appears to have been merely assumed, and never established by any evidence whatever.

observes, — " Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse *; sed alii apud Egyptos a Mercurio, ut Gellius; aliique apud Syros repertas volunt. Utique in Græciam intulisse e Phœnice Cadmum sedecim numero. Quibus Trojano bello Palamedem adjecisse quatuor hac figura, θ, ξ, φ, χ. Totidem post eum Simonidem melicum, ζ, η, ψ, ω; quarum omnium vis in nostris recognoscitur. Aristoteles x et viii priscas fuisse α, ϐ, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ϲ, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ, φ; et duas ab Epicharmo additas, θ, χ, quam a Palamede mavult. Anticlides in Egypto invenisse quendam nomine Menona tradit xv annis ante Phoroneum antiquissimum Græciæ regem; idque monumentis approbare conatur. E diverso Epigenes, apud Babylonios dccxx annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis autor in primis; qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus, cccclxxx annorum. Ex quo apparet æternus literarum usus. In Latium eas attulerunt Pelasgi." † In support of this last observation, the Eugubian Tablets afford the strongest evidence; for, whatever difference of opinion may exist with respect to the language in which they are written, there can be no doubt that the characters are nearly identical with the ancient Greek letters. Mr. Payne Knight, also, remarks, that " These are probably the original Pelasgian letters, as first brought into Italy; for, without admitting the conjecture of Gori, that this inscription was engraved two generations before the Trojan war, we may safely

* The following words of Diodorus Siculus are generally applied to the inhabitants of Syria, in its most restricted sense: — Προς δε τους λεγοντας, ότι Συροι μεν εύρεται των γραμματων εισι, παρα δε του των Φοινικες μαθοντες τοις Ἑλλησι παραδεδωκασιν. But Strabo observes, p. 737., — Δοκει δε των Σύριων ονομα διατειναι, απο μεν της Βαβυλονιας μεχρι του Ισσικου κολπου. απο δε τουτου μεχρι του Ευξεινου τοπαλαιον. On this passage M. Gosselin, in the French translation, remarks, — " Les Grecs donnoient aux Assyriens le nom de Syriens, et designoient par le mot *Syrie* le pays compris entre la Méditerranée et le Tigre; aussi les anciens auteurs emploient à chaque instant Συρια dans le sens de Ασσυρια. Dans Æschile Συρων ἁρμα est pour Ασσυριων ἁρμα, comme dit le scholiaste." The authority, therefore, of Eusebius, who says, Præf. Evan., lib. x. c. 5., Εισι δε οἱ Συρους γραμματα επινοησαι λεγουσι πρωτους. Συροι δ'αν ειεν και Εβραιοι, την γειτονα Φοινικης, και αυτην το μεν παλαιον Φοινικην, μετ' επειτα δε Ιουδαιαν, καθ' ἡμας δε Παλαιστινην ονομαζομενην, οικουντες, cannot be considered as sufficient for determining that the words of Diodorus Siculus ought to be restricted to the inhabitants of Palestine.

† Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. vii. c. 56.

allow it to be more ancient than any other written monument extant. *.... Whether," adds Mr. Knight, "these ancient nations received their letters from the Phœnicians at a period anterior to the expedition of Cadmus, or whether both the Phœnicians and Pelasgi received them from the Assyrians, or from some people still more ancient, it is impossible to conjecture." † But, as it seems indisputable that the Pelasgi were originally settled in Asia Minor, it must appear highly probable that this country derived a knowledge of letters, as Pliny and perhaps Diodorus Siculus thought, from Assyria or Babylonia; and thus the invention of letters would belong to that part of the world in which the first known empire flourished, and in which, as I conceive, was the original seat of the Sanscrit language and of the Sanscrit literature.

But, in the discussion of this question, had the sounds and not the forms of the letters been attended to, it would, perhaps, have at once appeared that the alphabetical systems of the Greeks and Phenicians were too dissimilar, to admit of its being justly concluded that the former was derived from the latter. For, though the proper pronunciation of the Samaritan letters, which are supposed to be the same as the Phenician, is uncertain, still there seems no doubt but that *he*, *vau*, *jod*, and *gnain* were not vowels, and therefore had no corresponding sounds in the Greek alphabet. That either *teth* or *tau*, also, *tsadi*, *koph*, and *shin* were sounds unknown to the Greeks cannot be disputed; and, judging from the Arabic alphabet, it might be concluded that *pe* ought to be sounded as the Arabic *fa*, a letter which a Greek, as Cicero asserts, could not pronounce. The *zain* likewise, if equivalent to *zeta*, and *cheth* did not originally belong to the Greek alphabet. Thus eleven sounds out of twenty-two could not have been communicated to the Greeks, had Cadmus introduced the Phenician letters into Greece; while, on the contrary, the Greeks must have invented, or rather received from the Pelasgi, the vowels epsilon, iota, omicron, and upsilon, and afterwards increased

* Analysis of the Greek Alphabet, p. 120. † Ibid. p. 121.

their alphabet by eight additional letters. It is totally impossible, therefore, to discover such a similarity in these alphabets, as to render it in the least probable that the Greek alphabetical system of sounds could ever have been derived from the Phenician.

It is, however, difficult to form an opinion respecting the antiquity of the Sanscrit alphabet; for it seems much too artificial to admit of its being supposed that it is original and unimproved. Mr. Payne Knight remarks, — "Whether that alphabet be original, like the language, I very much doubt, as both the forms and number of the letters seem to imply that it is made up from the spoils of others." * But several people of India speak vernacular dialects, far inferior to the Sanscrit in copiousness and refinement; and yet some of their peculiar alphabets consist of more letters than the Deva Nagari. † The sounds, also, of the last-mentioned alphabet are common to all the people of India, and the proper pronunciation of several of them is perfectly unattainable by a foreigner. On considering this circumstance, I am much inclined to think that the Brahmans, when they migrated into India, gradually adapted their alphabet and their writings to the sounds which they there found in common use; for, on judging of this point, it must never be forgotten that there is no proof whatever that Sanscrit was the universal language of India, as I shall perhaps satisfactorily evince in the twelfth chapter. This language, therefore, was confined to a numerous priesthood, who were at perfect liberty to give it whatever form they chose. Nor, though all the Deva Nagari letters are at present indispensable for the orthography of Sanscrit, does this seem to have been an absolute requisite in the original formation of the language, as will clearly appear from an examination of the Comparative Table in Part II.: because half of the Sanscrit letters are merely characters for modifications of the same sound; and experience sufficiently shows that this is

* Analysis of the Greek Alphabet, p. 16. note.

† The Malabar, for instance, has three *r*'s and two *l*'s, and, besides, distinct characters for representing a final *r* and *l*.

a degree of nicety which the alphabets of few people have yet attained. * .

The Pelasgic alphabet, therefore, may not improbably exhibit the first elements of the Sanscrit. For, if the modifications of sound which are now represented by Sanscrit letters existed when this language was first formed, characters for them might not have been invented; and thus among the colonies who migrated from Babylonia these delicate intonations might have fallen into disuse: or, on the supposition just stated, these modifications may have been a comparatively modern improvement, introduced into the original language by the Brahmans after their arrival in India. Rejecting, therefore, these nice distinctions of sound, the proper pronunciation of which could only be acquired by being accustomed to it from infancy, it will be observed that the Greek and Latin alphabets agree with the Sanscrit, in possessing distinct characters for the essential vowels *a, e, i, o, u.* If, also, it be admitted that *i* was sometimes pronounced as *y*, and the spiritus asper as *h*, it will be found that there are four Sanscrit sounds only, *ch, j, w*, and *sh*, which are not contained in the Greek and Latin alphabets; and one of these, the *w*, was certainly at one time in use among the Greeks, and its sound, though not a character for it, was preserved amongst the Romans. Nor does the Pelasgic alphabet contain any sounds unknown to the Sanscrit †; for the θ, φ, and χ ‡, at whatever time received into use, are merely aspirations of τ, π, and κ, and have, therefore, equivalents in the Sanscrit alphabet. The Latin, however, contains one sound, *f*,

* The alphabets of Europe are a sufficient proof of the correctness of this remark, as all of them are deficient in the characters requisite to represent the sounds which prevail among the people who use them.

† I do not, of course, take into account the letters ζ, ξ, and ψ; because it is admitted that these are merely characters for double letters, which are, consequently, resolvable into δσ, κσ, and πσ.

‡ " Nam Græci adspirare solent φ, ut, pro Fundanio, Cicero testem, qui primam ejus literam dicere non posset, irridet." — *Quint. Inst. Or.*, lib. i. c. 4. Gesner observes, in a note on this passage,— " Est enim Φ inventa pro Π et H spiritu aspero. Prisc. i. p. 542. *Atque hoc solum interest* (eodem teste, p. 543.) *inter f et ph, quod non tam fixis labris est pronuntianda f quomodo ph.* Hinc intelligitur quid peccaverit testis Græculus."

unknown to the Sanscrit*; and this last has no distinct character for the sound of *v*, which the *w* sometimes assumes. But, in all essential respects, the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit alphabetical systems are similar; and, whatever opinion may be formed respecting the causes which may have produced the difference now observable between the Sanscrit and the two former, it must still be admitted that they exhibit, even at this day, much more unquestionable evidence of a common origin, than any ingenuity can possibly extract from a comparison of the Greek and Phenician alphabets. When, also, to this similarity is added the remarkable affinity which exists, after the lapse of three thousand years, between the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit languages, it must appear most probable that Babylonia communicated at the same time both her language and her letters to Asia Minor, from whence they were conveyed by the Pelasgi to Greece, Latium, and Hetruria.

But Lanzi observes, — " Or Lipsio nel comentare il citato passo di Tacito †, confronta prima gli autori su i quali si fondano queste lettere anticadmee; poi conclude: *vides in diversitate sententiarum consentire tamen omnes de Egypto et Phœnice.* Niuno dunque degli antichi avea sospettato mai dell' Etruria, nè de' Pelasghi Tirreni; niun autorità adunque favorisce il sistema nuovo almeno palesemente. .... La base del sistema Guarnacciano è, che in Grecia furon caratteri avanti Cadmo; parere non nuovo tra' moderni." ‡ If, however, I have succeeded in showing that the Pelasgi migrated from Asia Minor, and if the early civilisation of Western Asia be admitted, and if the concurrent opinion of ancient writers on this point rests merely on the questionable authority of Herodotus, and if no similarity can be

* I know not what to make of *q*, respecting which Gesner remarks, — " Literam ludibrium et crucem grammaticorum, non minus atque alteram *k* dixeris;" but, in the Sanscrit words which have passed into Latin, the *qu* represents a simple *k*, or a *k* conjoined with *w*, *kwa*, and, perhaps, *ch*.

† " Quidam Cecropem Atheniensem, vel Linum Thebanum, sexdecim litterarum formas memorant; et temporibus Trojanis Palamedem Argivum, mox alios, ac præcipuum Simonidem, ceteras reperisse." — *Tacit. Annal.*, lib. xi. c. 14.

‡ Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 179. 178.

discovered between the Greek and Phenician alphabets, it must necessarily follow that there is no proof whatever, which in the least establishes that the Pelasgi were ignorant of letters, and that these were first introduced into Greece by Cadmus.

It may, however, be contended that, if the Pelasgi carried letters into Greece, Latium, and Hetruria, the same number of alphabetical characters ought to be found in the ancient inscriptions which have been discovered in these countries; but, as this is not the case, consequently this supposition respecting the Pelasgi cannot be correct. But Lanzi justly observes, — "Io credo che non ogni lettera sia da cercarsi in lingue poco coltivate e durate poco: ove l' alfabeto era regolata dalla pronunzia; come avvenne un tempo nelle varie nazioni di Grecia.* Quindi ogni nazione ebbe il suo. L'Osco, la Sannitica, l' Umbra pronunziavano il *b* e l' ammisero nella scrittura; l' Euganea ammise l' *o* ricusata dalle tre predette perchè la pronunziava; la Volsca ammise le altre Latine antiche per la stessa ragione. L' Etrusca, che non pronunziava se non poche lettere, e quelle che le mancavano suppliva con le loro affini, ebbe fin dalla origine un alfabeto limitato; e non cangiando dipoi pronunzia, non lo caricò di nuove lettere: ammise al più le doppie *ch* e *x* che accrebbero l' alfabeto, ma non variarono la pronunzia della nazione. Nel resto, benchè vicinissima al Lazio, escluse sempre l' *o*, perchè secondo Plinio non proferivala: e per la stessa ragione non adottò mai il *g* nè altra nuova lettera, fosse o non fosse Cadmea. † In another place he observes, — "Ma Gori si fondò specialmente nelle più antiche iscrizioni de' Greci. Con esse alla mano provò quanta connessione dovessero avere il Greco e l' Etrusco: giacchè la forma delle lettere era quasi la stessa. Il tempo ha comprovato in

* "L' alfabeto Greco contò da principio sedici lettere, secondo Plinio. Verisimilmente son quelle, che compongono la iscrizione di Milo; se vi si aggiunga il B, che non vi fu occasione di adoperarvelo. Quei che ne contarono diciotto, forse vi computarono le aspirazioni H e F. Alcuni v' includono la X e n' escludono la V, come Vittorino Grammatico. E veramente in una delle iscrizioni Amiclee la figura dell' V non si discerne dall' O. Io non deggio fermarmi in tali controversie. Noto solamente col Bianconi che l' alfabeto Greco non fu lo stesso in ogni luogo in que' primi secoli; e dove contò più lettere, e dove meno." —*Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. i. p. 81.

† Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 201.

ciò la sagacità di quest' uomo. Più che vanno scoprendosi Greche iscrizioni di rimote tempi, più si conosce l' affinità de' due alfabeti." * Pliny, also, observes, — "Veteres Græcas [litteras] fuisse easdem pene quæ nunc sunt Latinæ;" † and Tacitus is of the same opinion, for he says, "Forma litteris Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum." ‡ The first part, therefore, of the following remark of Mr. Payne Knight cannot be correct: — "The Latin [letters] are said to have been introduced by Evander from the Peloponnesus about the time of the Trojan war, and were, without doubt, such as were in use in that country in that age. § Their number was then small; but the Romans continued to add to them, until they produced the alphabet which is now prevalent in Europe. The Pelasgian, probably, came into the parts of Italy west of the Tyber at a much earlier period. The Eugubian tablet has no E, G, D, or O; the three first being included in the correspondent mutes of the same organ, and the last in the U, which being employed as a consonant, or rather aspirate, formed the Pelasgian *vau*, the Roman V, and our W. This letter is generally called the Phœnician vau; but, I believe, it is not to be found upon any authentic monument of that people; whereas in the Pelasgian and Etruscan inscriptions it occurs perpetually." ‖

If, however, a letter actually exists at this day in the Sanscrit alphabet which resembles in every respect the Pelasgian vau and Latin V, will not this be admitted to be a very strong proof that the Pelasgic, Latin, and Sanscrit letters were originally the same? But the व of Indian alphabets is generally pronounced as the English W, and

* Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 77.

† Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. vii. c. 58. ‡ Tacit. Annal., lib. xi. c. 14.

§ Mr. Knight had just before remarked,—"The Pelasgiâns are said to have been the first colonists who settled in Italy after the Tyrrhenians; and, according to Pliny, brought letters into Latium. In this, however, he seems to have been mistaken; for the Latin letters, as well as language, are clearly derived from the Æolian or Arcadian, which were nearly the same as the Cadmean, and had several characters of which the Pelasgian alphabet of the Eugubian tablet is destitute." But this opinion is evidently founded on mere assumptions, the groundlessness of which has, perhaps, appeared from the above observations.

‖ Analysis of the Greek Alphabet, p. 121.

sometimes as the English V*, and occasionally in speaking as U. Hence, in the Persian alphabet, this letter having been omitted on the adoption of the Arabic characters, the ﻭ (wav) assumes, as the pronunciation of the word requires, the sounds of W, V, U, and O. That the Pelasgian vau, or digamma, when in use among the Greeks, was pronounced like the English W, would seem probable, from Dionysius Halicarnasseus observing that it was the custom of the ancient Greeks to prefix the syllable ου, written in one character, to words beginning with a vowel, as ϝελια, Velia †; and from the Greeks of later times using the same character to represent the Latin V, as ϝαλεριος, Valerius. Quintilian, also, remarks, — "Desintne aliquæ nobis necessariæ literæ, non cum Græca scribimus (tum enim ab iisdem duas mutuamur), sed proprie in Latinis, ut in his, *servus*, et *vulgus*, Æolicum digamma desideratur:" ‡ from which it clearly appears, that the digamma must have been pronounced as the English W, and not as the English B, F, or V; because these letters existed in the Latin alphabet.

But it is equally clear, from the variety of opinions which have been expressed respecting the proper pronunciation of the digamma, that this could not have been its only sound; and that it resembled the Sanscrit letter, in admitting of its sound being varied from W to V and U. Bishop Marsh, however, contends, in his Horæ Pelasgicæ, that the proper sound of the digamma was the English F; but this is a sound which the natives of India § cannot pronounce. Mr. Payne Knight, also, remarks, that "it is generally supposed among the learned at present, that the digamma was pronounced like our W, for it corresponded with the Latin V, the sound of which was certainly the

* This is the sound adopted by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta; but incorrectly, I think, as the prevalent sound of this letter in India is W.

The Sanscrit grammarians consider the W to be a semi-vowel; hence this rule in Wilkins's Sanscrit Grammar: — "36. *y*, *r*, and *w*, with their annexed [inherent] vowel, are occasionally convertible into their corresponding vowels, *i*, *ri*, and *u*."

† Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom., lib. i. c. 30.

‡ Quint. Inst. Orat., lib. i. c. 4.

§ I mean the Hindus; for the Muhammadans retain this sound, however long they may have been settled in India.

same." * But the difference of opinion on this point is at once reconciled, by admitting that the sound of the digamma and the Latin V was variable, and not fixed; since Quintilian expressly states that this was the case with respect to the latter: for this conclusion is strongly confirmed by the identical words which still exist in Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit; as, for instance, S. *widănti*, G. ειδονται, L. *vident*; S. *wămăti*, G. εμειται, L. *vomit*; S. *diwăm*, G. διον, L. *divum*; S. *ăwim*, G. οιν, L. *ovem*; S. *năvam*, G. ναυν, L. *navem*; S. *năwam*, G. νεον, L. *novum*; S. *wăchăm*, G. οσσαν, L. *vocem*.†

When, therefore, the whole of the preceding observations are duly considered, it will perhaps be admitted that the similarity of the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit alphabetical systems is as remarkable as the singular affinity which exists between these languages. The simplicity, also, of the system which ascribes to Babylonia the invention of letters, and the communication of them of Asia Minor, whence they were carried to other countries by the Pelasgi, must alone render it highly probable. Nor is it opposed by any sufficient authority, as the only objection to it which can arise proceeds solely from the long received but unfounded opinion, that the Greeks derived a knowledge of letters from the Phenicians; while, on the contrary, it is supported by all that ancient history, sacred and profane, has related of Assyria, and by the far-spread fame of the Pelasgi, the memory of which has been preserved by the poets and historians of antiquity.

* Analysis of the Greek Alphabet, p. 11.

† But, besides the omission of the W, or digamma, in Greek words, it would seem probable that, when it fell into disuse, its place was supplied by some other letter, as S. *sewete*, G. σεβεται; S. *wagmi*, G. βαγμα; and S. *wahate*, perhaps, G. οχεεται, L. *vehit*.

CHAP. X.

THE GERMAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES.

By letters has the glory of the Greeks and Romans been immortalised; but, amongst the ancestors of the Teutonic people, no poet or historian arose to transmit to posterity an account of their origin, or the fame of their deeds: for it was not until A. D. 360, that letters were first known among the Goths. Gibbon, however, observes, — "In the beginning of the sixth century, and after the conquest of Italy, the Goths, in possession of present greatness, very naturally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and future glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements. The principal minister of the court of Ravenna, the learned Cassiodorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a Gothic history which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to the imperfect abridgment of Jornandes. These writers passed with the most artful conciseness over the misfortunes of the nation, celebrated its success, and adorned the triumph with many Asiatic trophies, that more properly belonged to the people of Scythia. On the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain but the only memorials of barbarians, they deduced the first origin of the Goths from the vast island or peninsula of Scandinavia."* Leibnitz, also, remarks, — "Ego Jornandis autoritatem non plane contemno, etsi non semper tutam fatear, præsertim in remotis, nec satis cohærentia narrare deprehendam. Secutus est Ablabium, et Senatoris, id est Cassiodori libros de Gothicis deperditos. Jornandes ergo Gothus, ex Scandinavia Gothos arcessit, etsi eos Getis, longe antiquioribus Ponti Euxini accolis, confundat."†

Such is the only account of the ancestors of the Teutonic people which was ever written; but Gibbon very justly remarks that "We

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 387.

† Leibnitii Opera omnia, vol. iv. p. 196.

may safely pronounce that, without some species of writing, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of its history." The single, unsupported assertion, therefore, of a writer in the sixth century, that the Goths were the descendants of men who had migrated, two thousand years previously, from Scandinavia to the Euxine Sea, cannot be entitled to any credit, and, consequently, deserves not consideration.* Gibbon, however, states, — "If so many successive generations of Goths were capable of preserving a faint tradition of their Scandinavian origin, we must not expect, from such unlettered barbarians, any distinct account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To

* The writers of the Ancient Universal History, indeed, gravely state, that "the time when the Goths first settled in Scandinavia, and the period at which they first peopled with their colonies the islands, the Chersonesus, and neighbouring places, are equally uncertain. Their first settlement is said to have been conducted by King ERIC, CONTEMPORARY WITH SARUCH, GRANDFATHER OF ABRAHAM, ... The second migration is related by Jornandes, and supposed to have happened several ages after, when, the above-mentioned countries being overstocked with people, Berig, at that time king of the Goths, sailed with a fleet in quest of new settlements." — Vol. xvii. p. 168.

AS AUTHORITIES for the first part of this account, they refer to Grotius and Sheringham. I therefore extract what they have said on this subject: — "Prima migratio Getarum fuit sub auspiciis Erici regis; is sub temporibus Sarugi, qui proavus erat Abrahami, vixisse dicitur; et Getis imperasse, primusque in illas terras colonias misisse. Chronicon antiquum, rhythmice Gothica lingua centenis aliquot abhinc annis conscriptum, de Erico hæc habet. . . . . i. e. *Ego primus Gothlandiæ rex fui; tum nemo inhabitavit Skaniam aut Wetalaheedham, ego primus regiones illas condidi, et in ditionem meam recepi, ideo oportet ipsos Gothis semper tributum solvere. Iste Dyarius* (i. e. heros) *habuit totam Wettalaheydham, quæ nunc Zelandia, Mona, Fionia, Lalandia, et Falstera vocatur; tum vixit Sarug, qui proavus erat Abrahami.*" — *De Ang. Gent. Orig. Disc.*, p. 143.

Grotius says, — "Quod initium his regnis [Scanziæ] fuerit cum non appareat, haud temere et indigenis et vicinis creditum est, quo primum tempore post magnum diluvium ex Asia homines in Europam se infundere cœperunt, has regiones inter primas ab iis insessas et regna ibi, quod antiquissimum imperii genus haud falso dictum est, constituta. Nam ex Armenia Syriaque, ubi primos post diluvium mortales vixisse profanis etiam testimoniis constat, profecti Scythæ trans eas quas nunc Sarmatarum dicimus terras in Germaniæ septentrionalia venere. . . . . Scythicam vero linguam matricem esse Germanicæ, cujus pars Suedica ac Norwagica, multa sunt quæ credi jubeant." — *Proleg. in Hist. Goth.*, p. 7.

How such a writer as Gibbon could give any countenance to these reveries is most surprising: but, in maintaining the Scythian, Celtic, and Scandinavian hypotheses, common sense and the first principles of reasoning have been so completely disregarded, that, unless an author is fully aware of this circumstance, he cannot easily avoid the errors of the writers whom he is obliged to consult.

cross the Baltic was an easy and natural attempt; the inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels with oars and the distance is little more than 100 miles from Carlscroon to the nearest parts of Pomerania and Prussia. Here at length we land on firm and historic ground: at least, as early as the Christian æra, and as late as the Antonines, the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula, and in that fertile province where the commercial cities of Thorn, Elbing, Koningsberg, and Dantzic were long afterwards founded....In the age of the Antonines the Goths were still seated in Prussia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had already experienced their proximity by frequent and destructive inroads. In this interval, therefore, of about seventy years, we must place the second migration of the Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine; but the cause that produced it lies concealed among the various motives which actuate the conduct of unsettled barbarians."*

But, if the Goths who attacked the Roman empire did not migrate from the shores of the Baltic, this relation must necessarily be erroneous. To found, also, a historical account on deductions drawn solely from the countries which the Goths are supposed, without sufficient grounds, to have inhabited, and unsupported by any collateral authority whatever, is contrary to every principle of historical composition. If, therefore, it can be shown that the usual scepticism and singular accuracy of Gibbon have deserted him on this occasion, and that the Goths inhabited from time immemorial the very country which they occupied when they first attacked the Roman empire, their Scandinavian origin will be completely disproved. This point, I am aware, has been already very fully discussed by former writers; but, as their opinions are founded on either the Scythian or Scandinavian hypothesis, it becomes, in consequence, necessary to reexamine this subject at some length.

Had not, however, such numerous instances occurred of learned men preferring to search at a distance for that which was actually lying before them, it might excite surprise how any doubt respecting the

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 392, 393.

origin of the Teutonic people could ever have arisen: for, from the time of Homer until they began to be distinguished by the name of Goths, frequent mention of their ancestors is found in ancient writers; among whom no difference of opinion exists, with respect either to the original generic name of that people, or to the country which they had inhabited from time immemorial. The Thracians are repeatedly noticed by Homer*; and from the time that they are more distinctly described by Herodotus, until Procopius, during the course of nearly 1000 years, there appears not the slightest reason for supposing that their country was ever occupied by another race of men; but, on the contrary, it is clearly established, by the authority of ancient writers, that the Thracians extended themselves far and wide beyond the limits of the country which they had originally possessed. From the Thracians, also, as it has been shown in the seventh chapter, did the Greeks,

* I quote the following lines from Pope's translation: —

"When now the thunderer on the sea-beat coast
Had fix'd great Hector and his conq'ring host;
He left them to the fates, in bloody fray,
To toil and struggle through the well-fought day;
Then turn'd to Thracia from the field of fight
Those eyes that shed insufferable light:
To where the Mysians prove their martial force,
And hardy Thracians tame the savage horse;
And where the far-famed Hippomolgian strays,
Renown'd for justice and for length of days;
Thrice happy race! that, innocent of blood,
From milk innoxious seek their simple food;
Jove sees delighted." *Iliad*, b. xiii. v. 1—13.

"Rhigmus, whose race from fruitful Thracia came."
Ibid., b. xx. v. 485.

"And last a large well-labour'd bowl had place,
The pledge of treaties once with friendly Thrace." Ibid., b. xxiv.

The translation of the two last verses does not sufficiently express the sense of the original: —

Εκ δε δεπας περικαλλες, ὁ οἱ Θρηκες πορον ανδρες
Εξεσιην ελθοντι, μεγα κτερας· ουδε νυ του περ
Φεισατ' ενι μεγαροις ὁ γερων· περι δ' ηθελε θυμῳ
Λυσασθαι φιλον υἱον. *Iliad.* ω, 234.

even according to their own accounts, derive their language, civilisation, and religion: for, that the Pelasgi were Thracians, will not be doubted, after considering the following conclusive reasoning of Bishop Marsh: — "But as we know that Europe was peopled from Asia, either the first settlers in Peloponnesus traversed the Egean Sea, in which case Greece might have been peopled from south to north; or the first migration from Asia Minor to Europe was across either the Hellespont or the Thracian Bosphorus [or both], in which case Greece was peopled from north to south. Now it is infinitely more probable that the first settlers in Thrace should have crossed the Hellespont, where the land on one side is visible from the land on the other, and that Greece should have been peopled from Thrace, than that the first settlers in Greece should have come immediately across the Egean Sea, and have consequently embarked in Asia, without knowing that an opposite coast was *in existence*. We may, therefore, fairly presume that Thrace was the first *European* settlement of the Pelasgi, and that they gradually spread themselves southward till they had occupied the whole of Greece. Indeed Thrace was the original seat of Grecian song and Grecian fable. Thamyris, who is said to have challenged the Muses, was a Thracian; so was Orpheus; so was Musæus: and the mysteries of the Cabiri were celebrated in Samothrace, before the temple of Delphi existed." *

It is, at the same time, indisputable that the original seat of the Thracians extended from Macedonia to the Euxine, along the shores of the Hellespont, Propontis, and Thracian Bosphorus, and consequently their Asiatic origin cannot admit of a doubt. † But the

* Horæ Pelasgicæ, p. 13.

† As, also, it is much more probable that the Thracians, after migrating from Asia Minor, did not send any colonies there, the following passage of Strabo, p. 295., must be considered as applying to that part of the same people which remained in Asia Minor when the other migrated: — Και ούς νυν Μυσους καλουσιν· αφ' ών ώρμηθησαν και οι νυν μεταξυ Λυδων, καϊ Φρυγων, και Τρωων οικουντες Μυσοι· και αυτοι δ' οι Φρυγες Βρυγες εισι, Θρακιον τι εθνος, καθαπερ και οι Μυγδονες και Βεβρυκες, και Μεδοβιθυνοι, και Βιθυνοι και Θυνοι, δοκω δε και τους Μαριανδυνους.

Herodotus, also, mentions the Thracian origin of the Phrygians and Bithynians, and assigns a distinct place in the army of Xerxes to the Asiatic Thracians.

western and northern boundaries of the country which they at first occupied are uncertain: for Rennell observes, — "But as Thrace is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube; and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by Herodotus as distinct countries; the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Mœsia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea of our author allows. It has, however, more extended limits in his geography, than in that of succeeding authors; and, perhaps, might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube between the Euxine and Istria, meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the south." * Respecting the inhabitants of this country, Herodotus remarks that "The Thracian race is the most numerous of all mankind, except the Indian; and were the Thracians governed by one person, or did they even act with one common consent, they would be, in my opinion, the most invincible, and the most powerful of men:" † but he gives no account of either their origin or their history.

I admit that there are no authorities by which it can be proved that the Thracians of Herodotus were the descendants of the Thracians who existed in the times of Orpheus, Musæus, and Homer: but, that they were, was the concurrent opinion of ancient writers; and this general belief ought certainly to be considered as much more valid testimony of so probable a fact, than the authority of such a writer as Jornandes to prove so improbable an event as the migration of Scandinavians to the Euxine Sea a few centuries after the deluge, and their subsequent conquest of Thracia. ‡ But, from the time of

* Geography of Herodotus, p. 44. † Herod., lib. v. c. 3.

‡ The following remarks of Pinkerton are so just that I cannot omit them: — "Such is the line which Jornandes pursues; and his account of the origin of the Scythæ was blindly followed by Isidorus, by Beda, who calls Scandinavia, Scythia, by Paulus Diaconus, by the geographer of Ravenna, and by innumerable others in the dark ages. Nay, such an effect may even a very weak writer (for such Jornandes is) have upon literature, that one sentence of Jornandes has overturned the very basis of the history of Europe. This famous sentence is in his fourth chapter: *Ex hac igitur Scandia insula, quasi* OFFICINA GENTIUM, *aut certe velut* VAGINA NATIONUM, *cum rege suo nomine Berig Gothi memorantur egressi.* Upon this one sentence have all modern historians, nay, such writers as Montesquieu, Gibbon, and

Herodotus, until the general prevalence of the name of Goths, it is undeniable that the Thracians remained unconquered, and that they extended themselves from Macedonia to the Dniester, and from the Euxine Sea to the confines of Germany. For, as the Getæ are identified by ancient writers with the Thracians, and as neither proof nor probability supports the assumptions that Thracia was ever occupied by either Scythians or Scandinavians, it must necessarily follow that whatever is predicated of the Getæ must equally apply to the Thracians; and, consequently, if the Getæ were Goths, the Goths were also Thracians. To determine, therefore, the identity of the Getæ and Goths, it may be remarked, that from Strabo it appears that the country immediately to the south of the Elbe was inhabited by the Suevi; then succeeded the country of the Getæ, which extended along the southern bank of the Danube, and also to the north of that river as far as the Dniester; but the exact boundaries of this country were uncertain. The Mœsi, likewise, dwelt on both banks of the Danube, and were, equally with the Getæ, considered by the Greeks to be a Thracian people. The Dacians, also, were a Thracian people, and spoke the same language as the Getæ; and when Alexander the Great attacked the Triballi, another Thracian people near the mountain Hæmus, he found that they extended as far as the Danube and its mouth. Pliny, also, observes, — "Thracia sequitur, inter validissimas Europæ gentes, in strategias quinquagenas divisa." Among these he enumerates the Mœsi and Getæ, and remarks that the latter were called Dacians by the Romans. *

From a consideration of these geographical details, it must appear

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others of the first name, built! Now it can be clearly shown that Scandinavia was, down to a late period, nay, is at present, almost overrun with enormous forests, where there was no room for population. Adam of Bremen, who wrote in the eleventh century, instructs us that even in Denmark at that time the sea-coasts alone were peopled, while the inner parts of the country were one vast forest. If such was the case in Denmark, we may guess that in Scandinavia even the shores were scarcely peopled. Scandinavia is also a mountainous region; and, among a barbaric and unindustrious people, the mountains are almost unpeopled." — *Diss. on the Scythians or Goths*, p. 23.

* Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. iv. c. 11, 12.

utterly improbable that a body of Scandinavians could not only have conquered so numerous and powerful a people as the Getæ*, but, also, have suffered so little in the conquest as to be still able to attack the Roman empire immediately afterwards. If, also, this migration of Scandinavians took place at the time mentioned by Gibbon, when considerable intercourse was carried on between the Romans and Getæ, some mention of such a revolution would most likely have occurred in ancient writers: but respecting such an event they are absolutely silent, and even Jornandes positively contradicts the historian. I cannot, however, ascertain on what authority, if any, is founded the relation which Gibbon has given of the progress of the Scandinavians from the shores of the Baltic, until they arrived at Nicopolis on the Jatrus. In this instance, therefore, the account of Jornandes seems so probable as to be entitled to every credit; for he says, — "Nam gens ista [Getica] mirum in modum in ea parte, qua versabatur, id est Ponti in littore Scythiæ soli innotuit, sine dubio tanta spacia tenens terrarum, tot sinus maris, tot fluminum cursus, sub cujus sæpe dextra Wandalus jacuit, stetit sub precio Marcomannus, Quadorum principes in servitutem redacti sunt, Philippo namque antedicto regnante Romanis, qui solus ante Constantinum Christianus cum Philippo, id est filio, fuit, cujus et secundo anno regni Roma millesimum annum explevit, Gothi, ut assolet, distracta sive stipendia sua ferentes ægre, de amicis facti sunt inimici. Nam quamvis remotis sub regibus viverent suis, Reipublicæ tamen Romanæ fœderati erant, et annua munera percipiebant. Quid multa? Transiens tunc Ostrogotha cum suis Danubium, Mœsiam Thraciamque vastavit." † But the identity

* Strabo observes, in p. 304, 305., that the Getæ and Dacians had at one time so increased in numbers as to be able to form armies of 200,000 men; but that, in consequence of civil dissensions and wars with the Romans, they could not, at the time when he wrote, raise an army of more than 40,000 men.

† Jornandes de Reb. Get., c. xvi.

Sheringham remarks, — "Getarum arma victricia in Scythia, Thracia, Dacia, Mœsia, ad Istrum, et mare Ponticum exposuimus, eosque in illis regionibus, pro varietate sedis varia habuisse nomina; sed omnes uno communi nomine Getas, a Græcis et Latinis vocatos esse diximus. Hi, vero, procedente tempore, legiones et vexilla sua in ultimos Europæ fines detulerunt, et quod bellicosius erat, ipsam Romam, et ferocientes Romanos magis cicures et

of the Getæ and Goths cannot be better proved than by these two sentences[e] of Capitolinus in Maximino: — "Sub Macrino a militia desiit, et in Thracia, in vico ubi genitus fuerat, possessiones comparavit, ac semper cum Gothis commercia exercuit. Amatus est autem unice a Getis quasi eorum civis." * Spartianus, also, in Caracalla, after relating the death of Geta, adds, — "Non ab re est etiam diasyrticum quiddam in eum dictum addere. Nam cum *Germanici*, et *Parthici*, et *Arabici*, et *Alemannici* nomen ascriberet Helvius Pertinax filius Pertinacis dicitur joco dixisse, *Adde si placet etiam* GETICUS MAXIMUS, quod Getam occiderat fratrem, et Gotti Getæ dicerentur." † Procopius, therefore, was perfectly correct in expressing this opinion: — "The Goths were formerly, and still continue, a numerous people; but amongst them the greatest and most distinguished are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepidæ. In ancient times they were called Sauromatæ and Melanchlæni, and by some the Getic nation. They thus differ from each other in name, but in nothing else; for they are all fair, yellow-haired, and good-looking; they observe the same institutions, and worship the same God, as they are all of the Arian sect; and they all use the same language, which is called Gothic. It,

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mansuetos effecerunt, Romanumque imperium ita elumbaverint, ut mitius tractatu aliis quoque gentibus exinde fuit; ex quibus plurimæ arrepta dehinc occasione animos sustulerint, atque diutinam servitutem et exitiale jugum excusserint. Tum primum Getæ Gothorum nomine Græcis Romanisque noti sunt: deinceps vero scriptoribus nunc Getæ nunc Gothi appellantur. De his quidem apud antiquos, qui ea tempestate vixerint, qua Gothicum bellum susceptum est, summa concordia; post mille tamen annos Cluverius Germanicarum, et Pontanus Danicarum rerum scriptores, cum nuperis aliis hæc negant; hi Getas a Gothis, utrosque a Scythis diversam esse gentem magno conatu nixuque contendunt; quorum sententia non minore falsitate, quam novitate referta mihi in hoc loco refellenda est."— *De Ang. Gent. Orig. Disc.*, p. 179.

Of Cluverius, Grotius observes, — "Apparet hinc supra omnium quas legimus historiarum memoriam scandens regnorum Suediæ Norwegiæque antiquitas, bene observata Germaniæ descriptori, cujus ego diligentiam et eruditionem sic laudo, ut audaciam tamen, spernentis sæpe sine ullo firmo satis argumento codicum auctoritatem, consensumque vetustatis, et acceptas ab ultimis sæculis famas, multaque fingentis ex inanibus valde conjecturis, nec probaverim unquam nec sim probaturus."— *Proleg. in Hist. Goth.*, p. 7.

* Hist. Aug. Scrip., vol. ii. p. 17.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 73.

therefore, appears to me that they were all originally the same nation, but have been subsequently distinguished by the names of their chiefs. The people formerly dwelt beyond the Danube, and afterwards the Gepidæ possessed the country about Singedunum and Sermium, on this and that side of the Danube, where they are now settled."*

But, to evince that the Thracians or Getæ were the same people as the Germans, no proofs can be adduced, except the extreme probability of the fact, and the irrefutable testimony of language. The opinion on this point, entertained by the learned men of Germany, is, I believe, correctly expressed in these words of Eccard: — "Habitaverunt itaque primum majores nostri Celtarumque ibi locorum, ubi postea Cimmerii Scythæque sese invicem, HERODOTI testimonio, exceperunt, circa paludem nempe Mæotidem, et sub jugis Caucasi montis. Inde excursiones fecere, et Asiæ Europæque sunt dominati." † The futility of this hypothesis I have perhaps demonstrated in the fifth chapter; but the following remarks seem just: — "Nec audiendi sunt Septentrionales, qui ex Asia per Scythiam ad Finnones, indeque vel per Lappones vel per Botnicum sinum ad Suecos, atque hinc demum transmisso Balthico mari in Germaniam traductos fuisse majores nostros ferunt. His et illustris LEIBNITIUS peculiari dissertatione contradixit. Difficultas et anfractus itineris illius, inclementia cœli, infelicitas soli posterioribus demum temporibus exustis sylvis exculti, migrationi huic adversantur. Nec verosimile est, spretis mitioribus locis, asperrima deserta placuisse novas sedes quærentibus. Multo magis opinari licet, minorem gentis partem in Septentrionalia regna ex majori, propinqua nempe Germania, venisse, trajectis maris Balthici fretis, aut Codano sinu, quem olim, cum a maris violentia littora nondum tot detrimenta accepissent, arctiorem, atque adeo trajectu multo faciliorem, quam nunc est, fuisse, non sine causa forte statuit Jo. DANIEL MAIOR." ‡

If, however, Germany was not peopled from Scandinavia, or from

* Procopius in Bell. Van., lib. i. c. 2.

† De Origine Germanorum, p. 20.

‡ Ibid, p. 39.

Sarmatia *, as the want of affinity between the German and Slavonic languages sufficiently proves, there can be no other country than Thracia from which it could have received its inhabitants. Eccard, indeed, remarks, — " Germani itaque fuerunt, qui primi nomina hæc sylvis, montibus, et fluviis nostris indiderunt. Nec præter Germanicam linguam ullius alterius idiomatis vestigia apud nos invenies, quod indicio est, majores hic nostros primos et solos degisse, nullis aliarum gentium incursionibus infestatos, aut coloniis mixtos. Atque errant omnino, qui patriæ nostræ primo *Scythas*, inde *Celtas*, et postea *Gothos* obtrudunt." † But he cannot have intended to revive the exploded doctrine of the inhabitants of any country being *autochthones;* and, as the population of Europe from Asia is proved by such numerous circumstances, it must necessarily follow that Germany also received a people whose ancestors had at some remote period migrated from Asia. The very position, therefore, of Thracia is sufficient to evince that the Thracians alone could have gradually extended themselves from the Hellespont to the shores of the Baltic, and thence to Scandinavia: for, to suppose that the ancestors of the Germans proceeded from Mount Ararat across Caucasus to the Palus Mæotis, and thence to Germany, is equally incredible as these singular conjectures: — " In Asia et hic Arminius enituit, multisque seculis Arminio Cherusco antiquior fuit. Chaldæi Persæque duos deos venerati sunt, unum bonum, *Oromasdem*, alterum malum, *Arimanium*. Non inepte suspicatur LEIBNITIUS, *Arimanium forte magna Asiæ parte perdomita, cum*

* Pinkerton remarks, — " The first of these opinions, namely, that the Germans were Sarmatians, proceeds from such gross ignorance, that I am really ashamed to mention, much more to refute it. I have diligently perused most writers on German antiquities, but they had all some degree of reading, and could never fall into an error which the whole ancient authors, and complete modern knowledge, concur to refute.... Sorry I am, at the end of the eighteenth century, to be showing, against a British author, that the Germans were not Sarmatæ; that is, that a Saxon, or a Silesian, is not a Russian, and does not speak the Sarmatic [Slavonic], but Gothic language. For if a German student, in his first year at college, should happen to see this tract, he will conclude me as ignorant as my countryman, Mr. M'Pherson; to confute absolute nonsense being surely as ridiculous as to write it." — *Diss. on Scythians or Goths*, p. 91. 93.

† De Origine Germanorum, p. 59. *

Ormisda, orientalium populorum rege, conflixisse, et terrore sui nominis, ut alter beneficiis, divinitatem meruisse. Græcis ex eodem *Hermes* sive Mercurius confictus est, quia sapientiæ illis author fuit. Nec repugnem, si quis ex eodem Arimanio Αρεια, seu Martem Græcorum, rejecta ultima syllaba *man*, prodiisse dicat." *

The very homogeneity, also, of the German language supports a hypothesis which supposes that Germany was not merely occupied by the Thracians as conquerors, but that it was actually peopled by this race of men, or, at least, that it so far predominated as to expel the former inhabitants, or to absorb them entirely within the new population. The language, therefore, would be originally Thracian; but, in the course of time, and long separation, and, perhaps, from the influence of the speech of the former inhabitants, it would gradually assume a distinct character, and, losing its absolute identity, would still retain undeniable traces of affinity with the mother tongue. Nor can it be supposed that, among the widely dispersed tribes of Thracia itself, leading a rude and uncivilised life, and unacquainted with letters, the language of Asia Minor could have been long preserved in its pristine purity. No information, however, respecting the causes that may have occasioned the country which communicated its language, civilisation, and religion to Greece, to relapse into barbarity, can be derived from ancient writers: but, whatever the causes may have been, the effect must have produced such an alteration in the parent tongue, amongst the Thracian people, as to create that difference which took place between the Greek and Latin, and the Thracian languages. Even the latter, from the peculiar circumstances under which the widely extended tribes of Thracia lived, must, in the course of fifteen hundred years, have become divided into various distinct dialects: but, still, these languages and dialects would preserve such a remarkable affinity, as to render it indisputable that they were all derived from one common origin.

It is precisely in this state that the Thracian language presents itself, in the earliest written monuments of it which have been pre-

* De Origine Germanorum, p. 18.

served. Unfortunately these are of comparatively modern date. For Dr. Jamieson observes, in the *Hermes Scythicus*,—"The most ancient proofs referred to in this inquiry, are from the justly celebrated version of Ulphilas, Bishop of the Mœso-Goths. The year 360 is the latest date assigned to this version. Many learned writers, however, have affirmed that it was made in the reign of Constantine the Great. It is much to be regretted, that all that remains of the labours of Ulphilas is his version of the four gospels, of which nearly one half has been lost, besides some fragments of the Epistle to the Romans. Our proofs from the Mœso-Gothic are thus extremely limited. It is unquestionable that the Anglo-Saxon is merely a daughter of the ancient Gothic. It was introduced into England about the year 450, or nearly a century after the date of the version of Ulphilas. We have, indeed, no Anglo-Saxon writer older than Cædmon, who flourished three centuries later than the Bishop of Mœsia. But so close is the affinity of these two languages, that the learned Hickes included both in the same grammar. The Alemannic, or Franco-Theotisc, has the next claim in point of antiquity. But of this there are no memorials previous to the reign of Charlemagne."*

But, comparatively recent as these memorials are, since the separation of the Greek, Latin, and Thracian people must have probably taken, place at least two centuries before the poems of Homer were written, or eleven hundred years before the birth of Christ, they incontestably prove that the Teutonic dialects are the legitimate daughters of the Thracian or Pelasgic language, and, consequently, that Germany must have been peopled by the Thracians. † The insuperable difficulty,

* Hermes Scythicus, Intr. p. 4.

† When and how this event took place it is useless to conjecture, because there are no data on which any probable opinion respecting it can be formed; but, from the manner in which it seems most likely that the world was peopled, the unphilosophical incorrectness of this opinion of Gibbon must be evident: — "When Tacitus considered the purity of the German blood, and the forbidding aspect of the country, he was disposed to pronounce these barbarians *indigenæ*, or natives of the soil. We may allow with safety, and perhaps with truth, that ancient Germany was not originally peopled by any foreign colonies already formed into a political society; but that the name and nation received their existence from the gradual union of some wandering savages of the Hercynian woods. To assert those

therefore, which learned men have hitherto experienced, in their attempts to explain satisfactorily the wonderful affinity which exists between these dialects and Greek and Latin, is at once surmounted; and it hence appears that this affinity proceeds from the simple fact of the Greeks, Latins, Hetrurians, and Thracians having all at one time spoken the same language, because they were all originally but one and the same people. Nor can the Teutonic race desire a more illustrious origin than those Pelasgi, whose far-spread fame is still attested by the honorific epithets applied to them by ancient writers: but the Teutonic people must regret that their ancestors preferred a life of rude independence to cultivating those arts by which their kindred, the Greeks and Romans, have acquired such undying celebrity.

It is not, however, solely on the translation of Ulphilas that depends the identification of the Thracian and German people and their languages, but on the undeniable affinity of all the Teutonic dialects; while there prevails at the same time such a dissimilarity between them, as to show clearly that no one of them could have been derived from another. Dr. Jamieson, indeed, considers the Anglo-Saxon to be merely a daughter of the Mœso-Gothic: but the remains of Ulphilas's translation are much too few and imperfect to warrant such an opinion; and an examination of the various Teutonic dialects must evince that they all originally agreed in their grammatical structure, and differed merely in words. It is this circumstance, therefore, which so strongly proves that no one of these dialects can be the parent language, but that they must have all been derived from some common origin. A German, an Englishman, and a Swede cannot at this day understand each other; but the slightest acquaintance with their respective dialects at once shows that their ancestors must have spoken, at some remote period, the

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savages to have been the spontaneous production of the earth which they inhabited, would be a rash inference, condemned by religion, and unwarranted by reason." — *Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 349.

same language. Words, also, identical with Greek and Latin terms occur in some one of these dialects, which are not found in the others: but what is still more remarkable are the 413 Sanscrit words * which can still be discovered in German and English, of which 43 are found in German and not in English, and 138 in English and not in German. †

These singular facts, however, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, unless it be admitted that the Teutonic dialects are merely cognate, and that they are all derived from one common origin, the Thracian or Pelasgic language; in which case the diversity now existing between them may be justly ascribed to the different tribes having preserved a greater or lesser number of the words that belonged to the mother tongue, and to each of them having replaced such words as might have fallen into disuse, and afterwards become requisite, by newly invented terms unknown to the others. It is also impossible to ascertain whether Germany and Scandinavia were peopled previous to the immigration of the Thracians; but, as they most probably were inhabited at that time by distinct tribes, their speech must have exerted an equal influence over the Thracian language, as has unquestionably been exerted over the Latin by that of the Aborigines of Italy. From all these considerations, therefore, it may be justly concluded that all the Teutonic dialects are derived from one parent language, the Thracian, which was originally the same as the Greek and Latin, and also the same as that which was originally spoken in Asia Minor, and thence communicated by the Pelasgi to Thracia, Greece, and Italy.

To the justness of this conclusion I am aware of only one objection: for it may be contended that, if the Greek, Latin, and Thracian languages were originally but one and the same tongue, a much greater

* See the Comparative Table in Part II.

† If I had had an opportunity of referring to dictionaries of the other Teutonic dialects, it is probable that I might have discovered in all of them Sanscrit words, which do not occur in German and English; for I have observed a few, in merely perusing Hickes's Thesaurus, the Saxon Chronicle, Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Edda of Soemunde.

similarity than what can now be discovered ought to exist in their grammatical structure. For, though the Teutonic noun still retains its inflections, had the verb ever possessed thirty tenses* as in Sanscrit, or eighty-seven as in Greek, in what manner has it been reduced to two or three only? In the Latin, and even in the modern languages derived from it, during all the vicissitudes of a long course of ages, the verb has never been thus shorn of its moods and tenses. The simplicity, therefore, which prevails in the inflection of a Teutonic verb, is alone sufficient to indicate that this language cannot be derived from the same origin as Greek and Latin; but experience shows that a rude people prefer the use of auxiliary verbs for the formation of tenses, to the more artificial mode of inflecting the verb for this purpose; and, consequently, no just conclusion respecting the original grammatical structure of their language, when existing in its primitive purity, can be drawn from the Thracians, after having relapsed into barbarity, having adopted this inartificial but convenient mode of varying the sense of the verb. Though, also, this objection might appear valid if it could not be controverted by arguments of greater validity, it must entirely lose its effect when the number of words in the Teutonic dialects which are cognate with terms in Greek, Latin, and particularly Sanscrit, are taken into consideration: for the number of hypotheses which have been proposed for the explanation of this fact have all hitherto proved equally unsatisfactory; because not one of them adequately accounts for it, and all are founded on the strangest and most inadmissible assumptions. But the conclusions which I now point out fully explain the cause of the remarkable affinity which exists between these languages, and also recommend themselves by their extreme simplicity and probability.

Mr. Turner, however, is of opinion that the Anglo-Saxon is by no means in its original purity, and that it contains words corresponding with those of other languages †: but it seems to me that its originality

* Including the participles, the inflections of the Sanscrit verb are forty-six.

† History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 461. He also observes, in the concluding sentence of the following chapter: — "I should have been desirous to have stated some

cannot be doubted, as the Sanscrit words, and those apparently Greek and Latin; which it contains are all referable to the same parent language. The very examples which Mr. Turner adduces in support of his opinion irresistibly lead to this conclusion: for of the five verbs*, the fragments of which form the Anglo-Saxon verb, four are found in Sanscrit; as will be evident from the following comparison of its tenses with the Sanscrit verbs: —

	1.	2.	3.	
Anglo-Saxon,	eom	es	is *	The plural *sind* or *sint* is not a
Sanscrit,	ăsmi	ăsi	ăsti †	distinct verb, but the Saxon third person plural, *santi.*

In the subjunctive mood the Anglo-Saxon preserves the root, but rejects the inflection; as,

	1.	2.	3.
Anglo-Saxon,	sy	sy	sy
Sanscrit,	siam	siah	siat.

The Anglo-Saxon	beom	bist	bith
are the Sanscrit	bhăwāmi	bhăwăsi	bhăwăti;

and the Anglo-Saxon plural *beoth* is evidently formed from the Sanscrit second person plural *bhăwăthă:* and the Anglo-Saxon *beon* and German *bin* are the present participle of this Sanscrit verb *bhăwăn.*

The Anglo-Saxon *weorthe* and German *werde* are equally Sanscrit; as,

Anglo-Saxon,	weorthe	weorthest	weortheth
German,	werde	werdest	werde
Sanscrit,	wărtāmi ‡	wărtăsi	wărtăti

The Anglo-Saxon plural *weorthath* is formed from the second person

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opinions on the affinities of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, but that I found it a subject which could not be accurately handled without a deep consideration of almost every other language."

* As *were* does not exist in the Mœso-Gothic, it may, perhaps, be merely a corruption.

† Mœso-Gothic, *ist.*

‡ I am, I exist.

plural of the Sanscrit verb *wărtăthă :* but the German first and third persons plural seem to be formed from the third person plural of the Sanscrit verb *wărtănti.*

The Anglo-Saxon *wæs* and English *was* are the Sanscrit verb, without its inflection, *wăsăti, he abides.* The infinitive *wesan* and German participle *gewesen* are evidently the present participle of this Sanscrit verb *wăsăn.*

The Anglo-Saxon article, also, is derived from the Sanscrit pronoun of the third person; as,

	Nom.	Gen.	Ac.
Anglo-Saxon,	se	thæs	thæn
	seo		
	thæt		thæt
Sanscrit,	sah	tasia	tam *
	sa		
	tat		tat

Anglo-Saxon, N. P. tha
Sanscrit, te. Eng. they
Anglo-Saxon, G. P. thæsa
Sanscrit, tesham

A knowledge of these circumstances would probably have prevented Mr. Turner from observing,—"When we consider these facts [the formation of the Anglo-Saxon verb and article], and the many Anglo-Saxon nouns which can be traced into other languages, it cannot be affirmed that the Anglo-Saxon exhibits to us an original language. It is an ancient language, and has preserved much of its primitive form; but a large portion of it seems to have been made up from other ancient languages."† But, even arguing *a priori*, from what other people could the Anglo-Saxons have derived any part of their language? For it has been perhaps evinced that, from the time the Thracians established themselves along the shores of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and Thracian Bosphorus, until the migration of the Anglo-Saxons into England, the country from the Hellespont to the Baltic could have been inhabited by only one race of men, who all spoke the same language, or at least dialects derived from the same

* Anglo-Saxon dative, *tham.*

† History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 463.

parent tongue. The settlements, also, of Greece in Thrace, the Chersonesus, and on the shores of the Euxine, and the subsequent conquests of the Romans, all took place long after the Thracian language had been completely formed, and were not, therefore, causes sufficient to effect any change in it. At least their operation would have been confined to the places in which their influence prevailed, and it could not have been extended so as to affect the language of those tribes, which had previously proceeded to the shores of the Baltic. There appears not, consequently, any conceivable manner in which the Anglo-Saxon could have lost its original purity, or could have received any part of its words or structure from any other than its parent language; a conclusion which is fully confirmed *a posteriori* by comparing the Anglo-Saxon with other languages.

It is, at the same time, a favourite opinion among the literati of Germany, that the greatest affinity exists between the German and Persian languages. On this point Adelung thus expresses himself: — "But the finding so much German in Persian has excited the greatest wonder and astonishment. The fact is undeniable, and the German found in Persian consists not only of a remarkable number of radical words, but also in particles, and is even observable in the grammatical structure..... This circumstance will admit of two explanations, either from a later intermingling of the two languages after they were completely formed, or from their both being derived from the same mother tongue. The first of these explanations seems probable from the position and history of Persia. For it lies in the way which all the wild hordes from the higher Middle Asia must have taken in order to proceed to the west, so that its language could not have remained unaffected by that of the conquering or conquered people. It is, also, well known, that the Goths abode for many centuries on the Euxine and Caspian seas at the very door of the Persians, supported themselves by their savage bravery at the expence of their neighbours, and were always endeavouring to establish themselves in the best countries. History even acquaints us that a whole

Gothic tribe, which had invaded Persia, became incorporated with its former inhabitants..... Hence the remains of German in Persian do not appear like newly arrived strangers, who might be dispensed with, but as component parts which are deeply inwove with the language itself; so that the second explanation (proposed above) receives from them the utmost probability. The Parsi, Zend, and Pehlvi are very old languages, as is also the Sanscrit; and, though not sprung from the primitive tongue, they may be derived from one of its eldest daughters. The German also, both from itself and from history, appears an unmixed, original tongue. The Germans, as well as all the ancient western people, migrated from Asia; and although one cannot now ascertain the country which they occupied previous to their migration, still there is no reason to prevent its being supposed that they might have inhabited Thibet and Persia, from which countries Europe has been more than once peopled and overrun. The language, therefore, of the Germans, the Slaves, the Thracians, the Celts, &c., as well as that of the Persians, might have been derived from the same mother tongue, and afterwards have become, through time, climate, and institutions, different from each other." *

I have quoted the preceding long passage, because it contains in a narrow compass all the errors in etymological research which it is the object of this work to expose and refute: for Adelung assumes that the world was peopled from Thibet, and hence the above reasoning is entirely influenced by the wish of supporting this hypothesis. For this purpose, geography, chronology, history, and even affinity of language, are disregarded, and the same origin is ascribed to perfectly distinct races of men. What people, also, are intended by the term *Goths* it is impossible to conjecture; and it is equally difficult to understand how Persia's lying in the way through which savage hordes necessarily proceeded to the west (supposing this to

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 277. et seq.

have been the case), could have in any manner produced an affinity between the German and Persian languages. But the slightest acquaintance with Persian must have prevented Adelung from forming such an opinion as the one above quoted: for, when divested of Arabic words, never was there a more unmixed and original language than the Persian; and its grammatical structure differs completely from that of German.

Leibnitz, therefore, is perfectly correct in remarking,—"Non potui tantum Germanici invenire in Persico quantum *Elichmannus Salmasio* dixit, et unico pene *God* excepto, cætera fere Germanis assonantia, his cum Græcis Latinisque communia sunt:"* for it will be observed in the Comparative Table in Part II., that, out of 52 German and Persian terms, 41 are common to Greek and Latin. M. Von Hammer has, indeed, given, in the sixth volume of the *Mines de l'Orient*, a list of 560 Persian words which he considers to be cognate with a similar number in the languages of the West. But out of these 560 words 141 are not Persian, and of the remaining 419 there are 56 only the identity of which can be admitted: because the others have not the slightest correspondence with the words with which they are compared, either in sound or sense; the only tests, in my opinion, by which the correctness of an etymology can be determined. But it will not be denied that such Persian words as are found in German, and at the same time in Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, must have been derived from some common origin; and that consequently such words merely prove that German, also, is connected with that parent language, and not that it bears any direct affinity to Persian. Nor have I been able to discover more than eighteen Persian words in German which are not equally found in Sanscrit.† On what grounds, therefore, the learned men of Germany have been led to suppose that so wonderful

* Leibnitii Opera omnia, vol. iv. p. 189.

† The only Persian words, besides those contained in the Comparative Table in Part II., which I have been able to identify with words in the languages of the West, are the following: —

and astonishing an affinity existed between these two languages is to me inexplicable. * Their grammatical coincidences, also, pointed out by Adelung are merely the following:—"The Persian comparative ends in *ter*, as *choster*, *besser*; and the infinitive in *den* or *ten*, as *giriften*, *greifen*. The imperative is, as in German, the root of the verb, as *manden*, *bleiben*, *man*, *bleib*." † In these examples it will be observed that one letter of the Persian terminations is omitted, and consequently *er* and *en* cannot be admitted to be the same as *ter* and *ten*. But the slightest examination of Persian grammar must show that it is radically

آباد	ābād	abode, *Eng.*
آراستن	ārāsten	rüsten, *Ger.*
آراید	ārāid	arrayed, *Eng.*
آرزن	ārzăn	hirse, *Ger.*
آشنود	āshnud	nieset, *G.* sneezeth, *E.*
بازد	bāzăd	παιζεται, *Gr.*
بالاخانه	bālākhāneh	balcony, *Eng.*
بد	băd	bad, *Eng.*
بربر	bărbăr	barber, *Eng.*
برنا	bărna	bearn, *A. Sax.*
بلا	băla	bale, *Eng.*
بوس	bus	buss, *Eng.*
بهتر	băhtăr	better, *Eng.*
بپار	băpār	ver, *Lat.*
بیل	bil	beel, *Ger.*
پالودہ	pāludăh	pollutum, *Lat.*
پری	pări	fairy, *Eng.*
تا	tā	to, *Eng.*
تارک	tārăk	dark, *Eng.*
تندر	tondăr	thunder, *Eng.*
تیغ	tig	degen, *Ger.*
جرّہ	jărrăh	jar, *Eng.*
جیگر	jigar	jecur, *Lat.*
جلاب	julāb	julep, *Eng.*
خدا	Khoda	God, *Eng.*
خورد	khord	curtus, *Lat.*
ربودہ	răbudăh	robbed, *Eng.*
رجہ	răjăh	ridge, *Eng.*
سغلید	săfălid	sibilat, *Lat.*
سینہ	sinăh	sinus, *Lat.*
شبان	shăbān	shep-herd, *Eng.*
شرم	shărm	scham, *Ger.*
غم	ghăm	gram, *Ger.*
گرید	gărid	greet, *Scotch.*
مادہ	mādăh	magd, *G.* maid, *E.*
ماند	mānăd	manet, *Lat.*
مرز	mărz	march, *Eng.*
مورد	murd	myrte, *Ger.*
نرگس	nărgăs	narcissus, *Lat.*
هنر	honăr	honour, *Eng.*
یاسمین	yāsmin	jasmine, *Eng.*

* I have not an opportunity of referring to Adelung's *Altesten Geschichte der Deutschen bis zur Völkerwanderung*, in which, he states in the Mithridates, he had examined at length the affinity existing between the Persian and German, and had given a list of 221 identical words in these two languages: but, judging of German etymologies from what I have observed while preparing this work, I am afraid that they are just as visionary as the Celtic.

† Mithridates, vol. i. p. 277.

dissimilar from that of German.* In neither words, therefore, nor in grammatical structure do the German and Persian languages possess any affinity; but the cause which has occasioned the introduction of words *apparently* Persian into Greek, Latin, and German will be best explained in the two following chapters.

* In the German language there is an article and genders, and the noun admits of several inflections; but in Persian there is neither an article nor genders, and the noun admits of but one inflection. The German adjective has genders, the Persian none, and there is no resemblance in their mode of comparison; as, for instance, P. *buzurg*, *buzurgter*, *buzurgterin*; G. *gross*, *grosser*, *grosste*. The Persian verb, indeed, taking the second person singularof the imperative as the root, and excluding the infinitive and participles, has but two inflections, like the German; but it forms four of its tenses, in a manner entirely peculiar to itself, by means of the particles *mi* and *bă*, and its other tenses and passive voice by means of two auxiliary verbs only. It may also be remarked that, although Persian delights in the composition of words, yet in the formation of words it differs completely from German; because it admits in a very sparing degree of the sense of the primitive word being modified by any change in itself, or by its being compounded with particles. The German, on the contrary, seems to possess very few primitive and uncompounded words.

CHAP. XI.

THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE.

The course of these Researches has at length arrived at that country, in which all the hypotheses hitherto discussed concur in placing either the original or the temporary residence of that race of men, by whatever name at first distinguished, from whom Europe received its population, language, and religion. "It has been shown above," says Pinkerton, "that ecclesiastic authors of chief account ever regarded the Scythians as the very first inhabitants of the East after the deluge. If any reader inclines to look upon the deluge as fabulous, or as at most a local event, and desires to learn whence the Scythians came to present Persia, he need not be told that it is impossible to answer him. With their residence in Persia commences the faintest dawn of history."* Wachter observes, — "Quantum sermonis Scythici nobis supersit, non aliunde melius et tutius cognoscitur, quam ex lingua Persica, in qua magnus est vocabulorum Scythicorum proventus, quorum concentus cum nostris tam admirabilis tamque clarus est, quamvis immensis terrarum spatiis interceptus, ut semel audita statim intelligi queant." † Pelloutier remarks, —"A l'égard des Perses, ils étoient certainement le même peuple que les Celtes. Pour le prouver, il n'est pas besoin de se prévaloir du témoignage d'Ammien Marcellin et de Tertullien, qui font sortir les Perses de la Scythie. Henri de Valois, dont l'autorité est si grande, prétend que ces auteurs ont confondu les Perses avec les Parthes qui, de l'aveu de tous les historiens, étoient Scythes d'origine. On en trouvera des preuves encore plus convaincantes dans le cours de cet ouvrage. On fera voir que la langue des Perses, leurs coutumes, et leur religion ne différoient pas de celles des Celtes." ‡ And Adelung

* Diss. on the Scythians or Goths, p. 53.
† Wachteri Glossarium in Præfatio.
‡ Histoire des Celtes, tom. i. p. 11.

was of opinion that the Germans, the Slaves, the Thracians, the Celts, &c., might have all at one time inhabited Persia.

But, when these different hypotheses are examined, they are found to rest on no other grounds than mere gratuitous assumptions, completely unsupported, if not directly contradicted, by history, tradition, and affinity of language: for no ancient writer, as far as I am aware, mentions that the Persians were not aborigines of the country which they inhabited when they first became known to the Greeks, nor that any migration ever took place from Persia. Because Diodorus Siculus merely says,—Ὑπο δε τουτων των βασιλεων [Σκυθων] πολλα μεν και των αλλων των καταπολεμηθεντων εθνων μετοικισθηναι, δυο δε μεγιστας αποικιας γενεσθαι, την μεν εκ των Ασσυριων μεταστασθεισαν εις την μεταξυ χωραν της τε Παφλαγονιας και του Ποντου· την δε εκ της Μηδιας παρα τον Ταναϊν καθιδρυνθεισαν, ἡς τους λαους Σαυροματας ονομασθηναι.* But this compulsory expatriation of the Medes cannot be considered as one of those migrations by which the world was peopled. There seems, also, to be some misapprehension respecting the river Araxes; for Pinkerton contends that "Herodotus himself is a sufficient witness that the Scythians did not originate from Scandinavia, but from present Persia; for he tells us, book iv. chap. 11., that they passed the Araxes, and entered the Bosphorus Cimmerius. The Araxes, it is well known, is a large river of Armenia, running into the Caspian Sea." † Rennell, however, has clearly shown that by the Araxes Herodotus frequently means the Jaxartes ‡: and that this is the river which he intended in this place cannot be doubted, because both he himself § and

* Diod. Sic., lib. ii. c. 90.

† Diss. on the Scythians or Goths, p. 28.

‡ "Herodotus falls into a great mistake respecting the source of the river Jaxartes, which he calls Araxes. Strabo, in one place, calls it by the same name; but he was too well informed to fall into the error respecting its source."— *Geog. of Herod.*, p. 204.

§ Ὡς δε τῳ Κυρῳ και τουτο το εθνος κατεργαστο, επεθυμησε Μασσαγετας ὑπ' ἑωϋτῳ ποιησασθαι· το δε εθνος τουτο, και μεγα λεγεται ειναι και αλκιμον, οικημενον δε προς ηω τε και ἡλιου ανατολας, περην του Αραξεω ποταμου, αντιον δε Ισσηδονων ανδρων, εισι δε οἱ τινες και Σκυθικον λεγουσι τουτο το εθνος ειναι. Ὁ δε Αραξης λεγεται μειζων και ελασσων ειναι του Ιστρου.—Lib. i. c. 201, 202. But that Cyrus invaded Scythia to the north of Persia, and not Armenia, requires no remark to evince.

subsequent writers place the Massagetæ to the north of the Jaxartes. Pinkerton, also, is incorrect in stating that Herodotus "mentions the Scythæ Nomades of the *north of Persia* to have past the Araxes;" * for his words are simply, Σκυθας τους νομαδους, οικεοντας εν τη Ασιη. That the Scythians, therefore, were ever the inhabitants of Persia is an assumption that rests on no proof whatever, and Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, expressly says that "the Scythians originally possessed a small extent of country, but gradually increasing in numbers, they, by their bravery and power, acquired an ample territory, and raised their nation to glory and supremacy. They at first dwelt in small numbers by the river Araxes, and were despised on account of their poverty and ingloriousness; but one of their ancient kings, being of a warlike disposition, and an able general, possessed himself of all the mountainous country of Caucasus, the champaign extending along the Euxine Sea (Ωκεανον) and the Palus Mæotis, and the rest of the country as far as the Tanais." † This account seems so probable, that, as it is not contradicted by any ancient writer, it ought to have prevented the formation of such hypotheses as assume that the Scythians were Persians, and the ancestors of the Celts, the Pelasgi, or the Goths.

It cannot, however, be denied that the Persians became known to history at so late a period as to have rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain either their real origin or their subsequent movements. It may, therefore, be contended that the silence of ancient authors is not sufficient to disprove the alleged occupation of Persia in remote antiquity by Scythians, or the supposed immigration into Europe of people from that country. But conjectures which rest on no other grounds than the imagination of the system-maker admit not of being controverted; because there are neither data nor first principles by which their accuracy could be determined. This point, however, might have been demonstrated even to the satisfaction of

* Diss. on Scyth. or Goths, p. 28.

† Diod. Sic., lib. ii. c. 89. Justin, also, seems to describe Scythia as being situated in this same tract of country.

these system-makers themselves, had not the originality of the present language of Persia become also a subject of hypothesis. As, therefore, the conjectures respecting the origin and affinity of the ancient and present languages of Persia have assumed the appearance of generally received opinion, it becomes necessary to enter at some length into the examination of this subject: for, as it has been often remarked, an erroneous assertion may be easily made in a few words, which may require pages for its refutation.

On this subject the prevalent opinion is that Zend is the most ancient language of Persia, which becoming extinct was replaced by the Pahlvi, and the latter, in consequence of the conquest of the country by the Arabs, by the modern Persian.* But it must appear singular that all the arguments adduced in support of this opinion, rest on the assumption of a fact which has never yet been proved; namely, the existence at any period in Persia of the two languages which have been named Zend and Pahlvi. On the contrary, Anquetil du Perron himself acknowledges, with respect to the Zend, — "Nous avons, il est vrai, des histoires générales [anciennes] dans lesquelles les Perses trouvent leur place, mais qui ne peuvent fournir les détails dont une histoire particulière est susceptible; aussi n'y voit-on rien qui désigne quelque connoissance du Zend. Les modernes sont aussi peu instructifs lorsqu'il est question de cette langue; à peine en trouve-t-on quelque trace chez les Mahométans, et les ouvrages des Parses ne sont pas plus satisfaisans sur cet objet." † But I am not aware that any Muhammadan writer has ever mentioned the Zend as a *language*, and every one that I am acquainted with invariably understands the term Zend as signifying the *book* in which Zardusht delivered the precepts of his religion ‡: for Firdausi says that, when Arjasp king of Turan

* It is also supposed that the Zend, Pahlvi, and modern Persian were three distinct languages, coexisting at some remote period in different parts of Persia.

† Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc., tom. xxxi. p. 341.

‡ Anquetil du Perron himself remarks, — "Ferdousi, dans le Schah-namah; l'auteur du Tavarikh Schah-namah; Mirkond, dans le premier volume de son Roset-eussafa; le Tebkat-Nasseri; l'auteur du Mudjizat, et les autres écrivains Persans parlant de Zoroastre, nous disent qu'il présenta à Gustasp le *Zend-avesta*; ils rapportent, d'après les auteurs Parses,

took Balkh, every *Zend* and *osta* [*avesta*] were burned; and even the author of the Firhang Jehangiri, the work so generally quoted on this subject, thus explains this word,—"*Zend* is the name of the *book* which Zardusht pretended was sent down to him from the Most High." But it is still more remarkable that the Parsis themselves do not suppose that *Zend* was ever the common language either of the whole or of any part of Persia; but merely describe it as the sacred language in which Zardusht recorded the precepts of his religion.*

All the speculations, therefore, respecting the antiquity of the *Zend* as a *language*, and the country in which it may have been spoken, are strictly European; and derive not the slightest support from either the traditions of the Parsis, or from any thing which is contained in Muhammadan authors. But, notwithstanding, the conjectures of Anquetil du Perron, who, from his writings, appears to have possessed a very superficial knowledge of Persian and other languages, to have been unacquainted with the simplest principles of philology, and to have been totally devoid of critical sagacity and sound judgment, have been received as sufficient authority for admitting that Zend was the most ancient language of the whole or at least of part of Persia: for Adelung includes it in his Mithridates, under the head of the language of the ancient Medes, and observes,—"Media, named by Moses Madi, contains the present provinces of Azerbaijan, Shirwan, Gilan, and Mazenderan, and was in latter times named Persian Irak. Of the ancient languages spoken in this country, before the modern Persian predominated, two are known, the *Zend* and the Pahlvi, one spoken in northern, and the other in southern Media..... In the *Zend* some writings still exist which have been made known by Anquetil du Perron; and these, when the grounds on which their antiquity are maintained are duly considered, will be found to be the oldest works

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que ce livre passoit pour divin, *et gardent un profond silence sur la langue dans laquelle il est écrit.*" — *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* tom. xxxi. p. 345.

* Even Mulla Firuz, the editor of the Desâtîr, is of this opinion.

extant, except those of the Hebrews and the poems of Homer. But this has been controverted by many, and particularly by the Briton, Richardson, who goes so far as to assert that the Zend was invented by the Parsee priests, and is merely a monstrous jargon composed of the words of all known languages. But such an invention of a language is contrary to all probability, and I might even say possibility, for no instance of it exists; consequently it cannot be contested that the Zend must be considered as a real language, which was once actually spoken. When, therefore, one weighs without prejudice all that Anquetil and his translator Kleuker have said and written in support of the authenticity of the Zend language and Zend books, and all that their opponents have with so much acuteness advanced to the contrary, one will be obliged to decide in favour of their authenticity."* But it cannot be denied that the Zend, if it was ever a spoken language, has been so long extinct, that no mention of it is to be found either in ancient or Muhammadan writers, and that even amongst the Parsees no tradition exists of its ever having been the common speech of Persia. It is also indisputable that the language in which the Zendavesta is written has not the slightest pretensions to originality; and that Richardson was perfectly correct in observing that "the Zend, so far from having the slightest appearance of one of the most regular languages in the world [the Persian], has more the air of a *Lingua Franca*, culled from the dialects of every surrounding country; grouped together with little grammatical propriety; and more pointedly resembling the spells of necromancers, than the idiom of a people famed at all times for the melody of their accents." Nor has the Zend, as it will be immediately shown, the slightest affinity with any known language. As, therefore, the existence of Zend as a spoken tongue is not supported by history, tradition, or affinity of language, and as even its originality cannot be maintained, on what principle of reasoning or of human belief can Zend be considered as a language which once actually existed, and which was commonly spoken by the inhabitants of the whole or of any part of Persia?

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 255, et seq.

But, had antiquity and universality, as the language of Persia, been ascribed to the Pahlvi, this supposition would have received some countenance from the loose manner in which this word is used by Muhammadan authors; for Firdausi and other Muhammadan writers certainly use this term to designate the ancient language of Persia. But it is also applied by them not only to the ancient language, but also to the ancient inhabitants, in order to distinguish them from the people and speech of Persia of their own times, which had both undergone so great a change from the necessary effects of the Arabian conquest. Nor was this distinction improper, because the purity of both had been greatly affected, and the language spoken in Persia four hundred years after that event could no longer be considered the same as that which was spoken by the kings and heroes celebrated by Firdausi. But to infer from this circumstance that the Pahlvi must have been radically dissimilar from modern Persian, is a conclusion which is totally unsupported by any thing which occurs in Muhammadan writers. On the contrary, the author of the Firhang Jehangiri clearly identifies these two languages, for he thus explains this word: "Pahlvi or Pahlvani, the ancient Persian, as Firdausi says, *If thou do not understand the Pahlvi language, then name the river in Arabic the Dijjel;* and again, *By me has the hand of eloquence been strengthened, for I have completed a work in the Pahlvi language.*"

According to Muhammadan authors, therefore, Pahlvi was the ancient language of *the whole* of Persia; but not one of them explains the manner in which it differed from the modern Persian. From the long poem, however, of Firdausi it clearly appears that this difference consisted solely in the former not having been mixed with Arabic words, and in there appearing in it numerous words which had become little used or obsolete after the Arabian conquest. On what grounds, therefore, could Anquetil du Perron with any justice remark, "J'examine maintenant en quelles contrées le Pehlvi avoit cours; ce point discuté donnera en même temps le vrai sens du nom de cette langue. Pour cela je suppose la Perse divisée en trois parties; la première, berçeau du *Zend* et du genre humain, comprendra la Géorgie,

l'Iran, et l'Aderbedjan ou la haute Médie. La seconde, allant vers le sud, sera composée du Pharsistan et de quelques pays situés entre cette province et l'Aderbedjan; c'est-là que le Parsi avoit particulièrement cours. La troisième renfermera la Médie inférieure; le Dilem, le Guilan, le Kohestan et l'Irak adjemi; le *Pehlvi* étoit la langue de ces pays mêlés de montagnes et de plaines."* For that such a division of Persia ever prevailed is positively denied by both Parsis and Muhammadans, who maintain that Persia has always been one single and undivided empire. † Ancient writers, also, mention that there never existed more than two kingdoms in Persia; and, from all that can be collected from Herodotus and other authors, it does not appear that the inhabitants of Media differed in language from those of Persia. But, notwithstanding these obvious objections, Adelung observes, — "It appears that the Zend was not used as the language of the court or of society, but merely employed for the purposes of religion, and there was consequently no opportunity for its improvement and refinement. But this was not the case with the Pahlvi, which was the language of the people of Lower Media or Parthia, and of the Persian kings, from the accession of the Kaianian dynasty, about 600 years B.C. for a period of 900 years.... The ancient Parthia or Lower Media extended from Assyria to the Caspian Sea, and comprised the present provinces of Dilem, Gilan, and Kohestan; and, as the princes and people of this country were distinguished by their rude bravery, it was called Pahle or Pahlvan, *i. e.* the land of heroes, and its language received the name of Pahlvi." ‡ But these remarks are mere gratuitous assertions, unsupported by any proof whatever; and the reception, therefore, of Pahlvi into a history of languages is contrary to every principle of historical composition, which forbids the admission of a fact until it has been established by applicable and adequate testimony.

* Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc., tom. xxxi. p. 407.

† For further remarks on the geography of ancient Persia, I beg leave to refer to a paper inserted in the third volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, entitled *Remarks on the State of Persia from A. C.* 331. *to A. D.* 226.

‡ Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 267.

As the Zend and Pahlvi, if ever the actual speech of any people, have not only become extinct, but have not left the slightest traces of their existence in any language which is spoken at this day, it must necessarily follow that the fact of their ever having existed at any time must depend entirely on the authenticity of the books which are said to be written in them. This subject has been very carefully examined by Mr. Erskine, who has expressed this opinion respecting these books: — "Under these circumstances, it would be in vain to look for any authentic account of Zertusht, or of the origin of his sacred volume. The *Zend-Avesta* does not belong to the age of history; it remains single in the Zend tongue; and we cannot rely on any thing recorded by the historians of Zoroaster, all of whom, besides being comparatively modern, have allowed their imagination to run riot in their accounts of his wonderful works and miracles. Nor is there any thing in the remains of Pehlevi literature that can assist us in this exigency. Translations from the Zend original of the *Vendidâd*, the *Vespered*, the *Yesht*, and *Khurda-Avesta* of Zertusht exist in the Pehlevi tongue. I know of only three other works in that language, the *Virâf Nameh*, a description of the Parsi paradise and hell, ascribed to the reign of Ardeshîr Babegân; the *Bundehesh*, an account of the creation, according to the ideas of the Parsis, certainly not written till after the Mussulman invasion *; and the *Tale of Akhez Iâdu and the Destûr Gush-Perian*, which was probably written at a still later period. Of the Pehlevi histories and records, of which we have heard so much, not a fragment has ever been given to the world; we may safely say that none such exist." † Mr. Erskine, however, adds in another place, — "To me it seems probable, that the *Zend-Avesta* was compiled in the reign of Ardeshîr Babegân, the first of the Sasâni princes, and the restorer or reformer of the old religion." ‡

"* This is plain from its conclusion, which alludes to the Mahomedans."

† Trans. of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. ii. p. 311.

‡ Ibid. p. 315. In the third volume, however, of these Transactions, I have endeavoured to show that this supposed restoration or reformation of the Zardushtian religion by Ardshir Babagan does not rest on sufficient grounds.

But the sole authority on which this fact and the authenticity of the Zend and Pahlvi books depend, is the traditions of the Parsis. Before, however, these traditions can be admitted as testimony, it must be satisfactorily proved that the *Zend-Avesta* and its Pahlvi translation actually existed at the time of the Arabian conquest; and that they have been carefully preserved until the present day by the Parsis of Persia and India. But no such proof has ever been adduced, nor has it been yet established that the Parsis of either country possess any well authenticated traditions, which ascend uninterruptedly up to that event. * On the contrary, the silence of Tabari and Firdausi respecting them is a strong presumption that they were not invented at the time when these writers lived; though those respecting Zardusht seem to have been well known to Muhammad Amir Khawand, who lived about 450 years after the latter. † It may, indeed, be said that the silence of Tabari is not fully proved, because there is only a Persian translation of his history now extant: — but the Shah Nameh fully evinces the extraordinary industry with which Firdausi collected every circumstance relating to the ancient manners, customs, and religion of Persia, which could contribute to the composition or embellishment of his wonderful poem. It is also remarkable, that of Zardusht himself these two writers have not given any account: for Tabari merely mentions him incidentally in these words, — "The Moghs have a prophet whom they name Zardusht, who claimed the character of a prophet, and established their religion by instructing them in the worship of fire;" and Firdausi, speaking of Gushtasp,

* On the contrary, that most intelligent traveller, Chardin, has observed, — "Quant à l'ancien Persan, c'est une langue perduë; on n'en trouve ni livres, ni rudimens. Les Guebres, qui sont les restes des Perses ou Ignicoles, qui se perpetuent de pere en fils depuis la destruction de leur monarchie, ont un idiome particulier; mais on le croit plûtôt un jargon que leur ancienne langue. Ils disent que leurs prêtres, qui se tiennent à Yezd, ville de la Caramanie, qui est leur Pirée, et leur principale place, se sont transmis cette langue jusqu'ici par tradition, et de main en main; mais quelque recherche que j'en aye faite, je n'ai riẽn trouvé qui me pût persuader cela." — *Voyages en Perse et autres Lieux de l'Orient*, vol. ii. p. 105.

† Tabari died A. D. 923; Firdausi, A. D. 1025; and Amir Khawand, A. D. 1497: and the conquest of Persia by the Arabs took place A. D. 641.

says,—"When some time had thus passed, a tree appeared upon the earth, which spread its shadow over the royal halls of Gushtasp; a tree abounding in roots and branches, every leaf of which was counsel, and every fruit wisdom, (who that eats of such fruit will die for ever?) of auspicious production, and its name was Zardusht, the destroyer of the wicked rites of Ahriman. He said to the king, I am a prophet, and the pointer out of the path that leads to wisdom, &c.* .... When the king heard from him the precepts of the Bihdin, he approved of them, and embraced the new faith." But Firdausi gives no farther account of Zardusht, neither of whence he came, nor whither he went, and merely relates that the new religion was propagated through the world by the exertions of Gushtasp, and still more successfully by the victorious arms of his son Isfandiar.

If, therefore, no proof can be adduced to establish the authenticity and antiquity of the Parsi books, it necessarily follows that they cannot be received as evidence of the existence and antiquity of the languages named Zend and Pahlvi. The opinion, consequently, of Sir William Jones cannot be controverted; for he remarks,—"This distinction convinces me that the dialect of the Gabrs, which they pretend to be that of Zeratusht, and of which Bahman gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late invention of their priests, or subsequent at least to the Musulman invasion; for, although it may be possible that a few of their sacred books were preserved, as he used to assert, in sheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near Yezd, yet, as the conquerors had not only a spiritual but a political interest in persecuting a warlike, robust, and indignant race

* This passage, and many others which occur in the Shah Nameh, clearly show that no Muhammadan bigotry would have prevented Firdausi from making use of the traditions of the Parsis had he been acquainted with them.

In another copy of the Shah Nameh the copyist has not shown so much tolerance, for he thus amends this passage:—Gushtasp being seated in full court, "suddenly descended from the sky a throne, on which was seated an ancient man, who, rising, proceeded towards Gushtasp, while the nobles saluted him. The king said, 'Who art thou?' he replied, 'Ibrahim [Abraham] is my name: beneath my steps are the heavens, and from the paradise of God am I come,'" &c.

of irreconcilable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed before the hidden scriptures could have been safely brought to light, and few, who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained; but, as they continued to profess amongst themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Múbeds* to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge as they gleaned, most probably, among the Christians with whom they had an intercourse." *

The originality and antiquity of modern Persian have been, also, questioned, but on other grounds, by the Baron de Sacy, who has remarked,—" Comme nous ne voyons la littérature Persane jeter quelque éclat que sous la dynastie des Samanides, il est très-naturel de penser que le Parsi, s'il existoit effectivement dès le temps des Choroès, a éprouvé de grands changemens dans les trois siècles qui séparent les derniers des Sassanides du premier des Samanides. D'ailleurs, si l'on considère l'intime structure de Persan moderne, on se convaincra que sa phraséologie et son système entier de syntaxe se sont formés sous l'influence de la langue Arabe." † But no opinion can be more erroneous; because the Persian bears not the slightest affinity to Arabic, and never were two languages so strongly distinguished by dissimilar properties. In Arabic there is an article, in Persian none; in Arabic nouns have two cases, a dual number, and two genders, in Persian they have no dual number, nor gender, and only one case; in Arabic their plural may be formed in twenty-two different ways, in Persian in two only. ‡ The verb, it is true, has only the same inflections, but by means of two particles it acquires tenses which exist not in Arabic; its tenses have neither dual number nor gender as in Arabic; and a distinct passive voice is formed by means of auxiliary verbs, the use of which is unknown to the

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 82.

† Journal des Savans, Février 1821, p. 75.

‡ In Arabic the comparative and superlative of adjectives are formed by prefixing *a*, as *akheir*, better or best; and the former is distinguished from the latter by placing certain particles after the adjective: but in Persian they are formed by adding one and two syllables to the adjective, as *bih*, *bihtar*, *bihtarin*, good, better, best.

Arabic.* The Persian language is, at the same time, distinguished from the Arabic by its extreme regularity; for in the latter the deviations from one common paradigm are numerous; as the infinitive, for instance, may be formed in thirty-three different ways, while in Persian it invariably ends either in *ten* or *den*. The genius, also, of the two languages is totally dissimilar: the Persian delighting in compound words, inversions, and long flowing periods; but the Arabic does not possess a single compound term, and its syntax admits of scarcely any variety in the length or arrangement of a period. The copiousness of the two languages is equally distinguished by a peculiar character; for the Persian is rich in ideas, there being scarcely a synonymous term in it, while the Arabic, on the contrary, is poor in ideas, but abundant in terms for the same object. Such a total dissimilarity, therefore, in the grammatical structure of these two languages, must incontrovertibly prove that the formation of Persian has not been in the slightest degree influenced by the Arabic.

From the preceding remarks it will perhaps appear that there are not any grounds whatever for supposing that Persian † has been derived from either Zend, Pahlvi, or Arabic; and it ought, consequently, to be concluded, on every just principle of reasoning, that it is actually the language which has been spoken from time immemorial in that country in which it is found to prevail, or, at least, the manner of its introduction into Persia ought to be clearly pointed out, and as satisfactorily proved. But, as it cannot be denied that no traditional or historical accounts of its origin exist, this subject ought to be considered as a mere philological question; and the same principles which regulate the tracing of affinities in other languages ought equally to be applied to the Zend, Pahlvi, and Persian. For this

* There is in Arabic only one substantive verb, but in Persian two; by means of which a variety of tenses are formed which are unknown in Arabic.

† It is scarcely necessary to observe that by this term I mean the modern Persian divested of all Arabic words. Several dictionaries of Persian in this state have been compiled; and the Shah Nameh of Firdausi presents a poem of sixty thousand couplets in which Arabic words are very sparingly introduced.

purpose the vocabularies of Anquetil du Perron may be employed, as there is no reason to suppose that they were not actually compiled for the use of the Parsis themselves, but merely forgeries imposed on him by his Parsi instructors, in order to conceal their sacred languages. A proof of this arises from the author of the Firhang Jehangiri having inserted in the appendix to his work, the composition of which was finished in A. D. 1608, upwards of 400 Pahlvi words, 300 of which are found in Anquetil du Perron's Pahlvi vocabulary.*

With respect, therefore, to the language named Zend, Sir. W. Jones observes, — "I was inexpressibly surprized to find that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyácaran* [Sanscrit grammar]"†; Dr. Leyden conjectures that the Zend may correspond with the Suraseni dialect of the Sanscrit ‡; and Mr. Erskine remarks, — "There can be no doubt in what class of languages the Zend is to be ranked. It is altogether Sanscrit." § But etymological resemblances are very deceptive; and a more attentive examination of those, which on a first view may appear the more striking, will often evince that the fancied similarity does not exist: for the Zend vocabulary, after rejecting words inserted more than once, religious terms, and proper names, consists of 664 words, and ought, consequently, according to Sir W. Jones's opinion, to contain at least 398 Sanscrit words. But on examining it I find that it only contains seven Arabic, ninety-three Persian, and eighty-three Sanscrit words, with thirty that may be

* It is, however, impossible to form any opinion with respect to the accuracy of those vocabularies, as Anquetil does not seem to have been sufficiently acquainted with the medium through which they were communicated to him; for at least seven of the Zend words belong to the dialect of Guzerat, viz., *bee*, deux; *toum*, tu; *zeante* (*janto*), connaissant; *gnato* (*nahato*), lavant; *te*, toi; *kerete* (*karto*), faisant; *petsche*, derriere: and, what is still more suspicious, the signs of the genitive case in Guzerati, *no*, *ne*, and also the third person singular present tense of the indicative mood of the substantive verb *che*, are sometimes affixed to the end of words. There is even a Turkish word with the Guzerati sign of the genitive case *aspereno*, derem.

† Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 83.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 213.

§ Trans. of Bombay Lit. Soc., vol. ii. p. 299.

either Persian or Sanscrit; but, as they are found in a language alleged to have been spoken in Persia, they ought to be ascribed to the former, and there will then be 123 Persian, and fifty-three Sanscrit words only, or rather less than one twelfth of the whole.* 511 words, therefore, out of 664 remain which do not belong to either Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit, or to any other known language. As, also, this vocabulary was compiled in India by a person no doubt acquainted with Persian, it requires to be proved that these Persian and Sanscrit words had passed into Zend, or *vice versâ*, while Zend itself was actually a language spoken in Persia: for, otherwise, it may be very justly concluded that, during a residence of many centuries in India, the Parsi priests may have learned many Sanscrit terms from even the vernacular dialect of Guzerat, and that they may also have retained or acquired many words originally Persian. Until, therefore, these objections be satisfactorily answered, it will be admitted that, under such suspicious circumstances, the existence of this small number of Persian and Sanscrit words in Zend does not prove that Zend is a dialect of Sanscrit, or that it ever was actually spoken in Persia. While, on the contrary, the impossibility, of referring 511 words, out of 664 contained in so small a vocabulary to any known tongue must irresistibly lead to a conclusion that this pretended language was invented by the Parsi priests, and never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of this earth.

These remarks apply with even greater force to the Pahlvi. For in this vocabulary there are rather more than 800 distinct words, and I have added 100 in the Appendix, so that there are 900 Pahlvi words for the purpose of comparison with those of other languages: but of this number there are sixty-four Arabic, two Hebrew, and thirty-five Persian only, while there is neither a Zend nor a Sanscrit term to

* As assertions relating to etymologies are always unsatisfactory, I have inserted in the Appendix a list of such Zend and Pahlvi words contained in Anquetil's Vocabularies as I can trace to Persian, Arabic, or Sanscrit, which will at once show whether my calculations are correct: but I must object to any etymological torture being applied to these words, notwithstanding their defective orthography, and request that they may be allowed to speak for themselves without any mutilation of limb or disfiguration of feature.

be found in this vocabulary. There consequently remain 800 out of 900 words, which do not belong to any known language. But Mr. Erskine remarks that, "in the Zend and Pehlevi vocabulary, the proportion of Pehlevi words that correspond nearly or altogether with the modern Persian is very great, insomuch as in some pages to have the appearance rather of a Persian than of a Pehlevi translation; while, in the Pehlevi and Persian vocabulary, the Pehlevi words that correspond with the modern Persian are very few. The latter, it is probable, was intended as a glossary of uncommon Pehlevi words for the use of persons to whom Persian was familiar, rather than as a complete vocabulary of the Pehlevi tongue, and would consequently comprehend those Pehlevi words only which required explanation to a Persian, from their being remote from his native language. In the Zend and Pehlevi vocabulary the Pehlevi words, being used to explain the Zend, appear without selection, and consequently we see the Pehlevi language in its natural state, in which it visibly approximates to the Persian; a conclusion that receives confirmation from the analysis of even a single page of the Bundehesh, which Anquetil has printed in the original tongue, as a specimen of the Pehlevi."* But this page contains, omitting proper names, sixty-six distinct words, of which twenty, or not quite one third, are Persian; and, of 664 apparently Pahlvi words contained in the Zend vocabulary, 350, or more than one half, are Persian. It would, therefore, seem much more probable that the explanation of the Zend in this vocabulary was all that was required, and that its compiler thought himself at liberty to substitute a Persian word whenever a Pahlvi one did not occur to his recollection. Had this not been the case, it must appear inexplicable how there should be 350 Persian in a collection of 664 Pahlvi words, while in another collection of more than 900 there should be thirty-five only. In the first, also, of these collections the Persian words remain in their natural state, without undergoing the changes to which they are subjected in the other, and many of the Persian words in the one are replaced by Pahlvi ones in the other. So far, therefore, from the

* Trans. of the Bombay Lit. Soc., vol. ii. p. 299.

Pahlvi part of the Zend vocabulary exhibiting a correct specimen of that language, a comparison of it with the other vocabulary will at once evince that on the latter only ought all opinions respecting the Pahlvi language to depend.

It hence appears that in 664 Zend words 123 Persian only are found, and in 900 Pahlvi ones no more than thirty-five Persian; that in 900 Pahlvi words not one Zend can be found, and that out of 664 Zend words 511, and out of 900 Pahlvi ones 800, bear no resemblance to those of any known language. But it must be evident that, had Zend ever been the common speech of Persia over which the Pahlvi predominated, many Zend words ought to be found in the latter, and, had Persian subsequently predominated over Pahlvi, many Pahlvi and not a few Zend words ought to be found in Persian; because such has been invariably the effect produced by the mother-tongue of every people on the language which may have, from whatever cause, predominated over it. With respect to English, for instance, Mr. Turner remarks; — "In three pages of Alfred's Orosius I found seventy-eight [Anglo-Saxon] words which have become obsolete out of 548, or about one seventh; in three pages of his Boethius I found 143 obsolete out of 666, or about one-fifth; in three pages of his Bede I found 230 obsolete out of 969, or about one fifth. The difference in the proportion between these and the Orosius proceeds from the latter containing many proper names. Perhaps we shall be near the truth if we say, as a general principle, that one fifth of the Anglo-Saxon has ceased to be used in English."* Consequently, notwithstanding the Danish and Norman conquests, the course of seven centuries and a half, and the astonishing progress in civilisation which has taken place during this period, still four fifths of the Anglo-Saxon prevail in the English language at this day. Neither Tiraboschi, however, nor Pignotti, mentions the proportion of Latin words in Italian. I, therefore, took the first 1000 words that occur in the ninth story of the fifth day in Boccaccio's Decameron, and I found that out of this number 750 were identical with Latin. But,

* History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 444.

from the establishment of the barbarians in Italy under Odoacer king of the Heruli, until Dante, when Italian began to assume its present form, eight hundred years elapsed *, and yet the Italian has preserved at least three-fourths † of that language which was previously spoken in Italy. When, therefore, rather more than one sixth of Zend words and one eighth of Pahlvi ones, only, can be found in the language that prevails in Persia at this day, and when this country has suffered no other change of importance than the Arabian conquest, which has in no manner altered or destroyed the common speech which was previously current, it must be concluded, on every principle of etymology, that the Zend and Pahlvi never could have been languages which were at any time actually spoken by the inhabitants of Persia.

This argument, I admit, will not apply to the hypothesis which assumes that the Zend, Pahlvi, and Persian were three distinct languages which coexisted in different parts of ancient Persia: for, it may be remarked, the English will no doubt in course of time predominate in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, without being in the least affected by Scottish, Irish, or Welsh; and such, therefore, may have been the case with respect to the Zend, Pahlvi, and Persian in Persia. But this division of Persia into three different parts, speaking distinct languages, is a mere gratuitous assumption, unsupported by either probability or proof; nor, were it even admitted, would it in the slightest degree assist in explaining the manner in which the two former languages have become extinct, and Persian has remained the sole tongue of the existence of which in this country any traces can be discovered. Why, also, are the translation of the *Zend-Avesta* and the other Parsi

* Tiraboschi, in the commencement of the preface to the fourth volume of his work, remarks, — " Molti secoli noi dobbiamo trascorrere in questo tomo; e dobbiamo trascorrergli senza mai incontrarci in oggetto, dalla cui vista possiam chiamarci pienamente contenti. Uomini d' abito, di legge, di lingua, di costumi diversi, ma quasi tutti barbari e incolti, Goti, Longobardi, Franchi, Tedeschi, Saracini, Normanni, inondan da ogni parte l' Italia, se ne contendon traloro, o se ne dividon l' impero, e la rimpiono in ogni parte di desolazione e di orrore."

† Pignotti observes, — " Si prenda un libro Italiano, e si cominci a leggere, si scorrera talora un intera pagina in cui tutte le parole si troveranno d' origine Latina." — *Stor. della Toscana*, tom. ii. *Sag. Prim.* p. 5.

books written in Pahlvi, if Persian had predominated as the common speech previous to the Arabian conquest; or, if not, when did Persian become predominant? To this question the answers are various. For Anquetil du Perron observes, — "Je place la troisième [époque du Parsi] sous les princes de la quatrième dynastie, celle des Sasanides. Le Parsi, devenu la langue de la cour, bannit entièrement le Pehlvi de l'usage familier." * Adelung, also, remarks, — "Under the Median princes, the language of the land was Zend and Pahlvi; but, under the dominion of the Sassanian dynasty, the language of the province of Fars, which had quietly improved itself, became predominant both in the court and in the kingdom, and so completely expelled all the other native languages, that none but itself prevailed throughout the whole of Persia." †

But the Baron de Sacy observes, — "Or, sous la dynastie des Sassanides, c'étoit le Pehlvi que l'on parloit et écrivoit communément en Perse, comme le prouvent incontestablement les inscriptions et les médailles. C'est en Pehlvi que Nouschirévan faisoit traduire les livres que Barzouyèh avoit rapportés de l'Inde." ‡ But, with respect to the last circumstance, it depends entirely on the authority of Muhammadan writers, who, as I have before observed, consider Pahlvi merely to have been the ancient language of Persia, without affording any explanation of the manner in which it differed from the modern tongue; and Firdausi even calls the language in which he composed the Shah Nameh Pahlvi. The deciphering, also, of the inscriptions and medals depends solely on the assumption that Pahlvi was the vernacular speech of Persia during the Sassanian dynasty. An assumption which ought to have been proved previous to any arguments being founded upon it: for, at present, these arguments labour under the defect of a vicious reasoning in a circle; since the language is first adduced to support the authenticity of that which is supposed to be written in it, whether books, inscriptions, or legends of medals, and then these writings are adduced as a proof of the former existence of

* Mémoires de l'Acad. des Insc., vol. xxxi. p. 416.

† Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ Journal des Savans, Février 1821, p. 75.

the language.* The explanations, indeed, of the inscriptions and medals which the Baron de Sacy thinks he has deciphered are certainly very ingenious; but it is merely requisite to read the description of the process by which he arrived at these results, in order to perceive that the premises are much too unsatisfactory and insufficient to warrant the conclusions. For the Baron de Sacy concludes his first Memoir with these words: — "De tout ce que j'ai dit dans la seconde partie de ce Mémoire, il résulte, 1° Que les inscriptions en caractères inconnus de Nakschi-Roustam offrent deux genres d'écriture différens, l'un desquels est commun aux trois inscriptions *A*, N° 1, *B*, N° 1, et *C*, N° 1; et l'autre aux inscriptions *A*, N° 4, *B*, N° 4, et *C*, N° 4; et que ces deux genres d'écriture se ressemblent néanmoins essentiellement dans la forme des plusieurs lettres, de l'*aleph*, par exemple, du *mem* et du *tau*. 2° Que le marche de ces deux écritures est de droite à gauche. 3° Que la langue de ces deux classes d'inscriptions n'est pas la même. 4° Que presque tous les mots des inscriptions *A*, N° 1, *B*, N° 1, et *C*, N° 1, peuvent être expliqués par la langue Pehlvie, ce qui autorise à les regarder comme des monumens de cette langue, ou du moins, d'un dialecte peu différent. 5° Que la langue des inscriptions *A*, N° 4, *B*, N° 4, et *C*, N° 4, paroît plus éloignée des anciennes langues de la Perse que nous connoissons. 6° Enfin, que dans ces deux genres d'écriture les voyelles ne sont point exprimées, ce qui les rapproche de la plupart des écritures de l'Orient, même du Pehlvi, et les éloigne, au contraire, du Zend, dont le caractère est d'être surchargé de voyelles." † In another Memoir the Baron de Sacy remarks, — "J'observerai, avant de finir ce Mémoire, qu'il est un autre genre de médailles qui portent des légendes en

* In Dr. Grotefend's attempts to decipher cuneiform inscriptions, the reasoning is not only founded on a similar assumption respecting the Zend, but also on these still more extraordinary assumptions, that the accounts of Persia given by Grecian writers are perfectly accurate, and that the names ascribed by them to Persian kings are equally correct; although the first of these points remains still to be proved, and the latter is fully disproved by its being universally admitted that the Greeks adapted foreign names to their own defective alphabet, and that, in this respect, they invariably sacrificed accuracy to their love of euphony.

† Mém. sur Div. Ant. de la Perse, p. 122.

caractères inconnus, mais différens de ceux que je viens d'expliquer, et qui paroissent devoir appartenir aux Arsacides ou aux Sassanides." *

It hence appears that the characters employed on some inscriptions and medals differ from each other; and that those given by the Baron de Sacy differ also from the Zend and Pahlvi letters in which the books of the Parsis are written cannot be denied †: but difference of character is, *primâ facie*, such strong evidence of difference of language as cannot be invalidated, except by proving the contrary by something more than mere conjecture. If, also, the characters of two inscriptions lead to a conclusion that the language of each is different, on what principle can it be supposed that they admit of being deciphered by means of one and the same language? At the same time, if these conclusions be correct, there must have existed five or six distinct languages in Persia, for mere dialects would not certainly have been employed in inscriptions; in which case, on what grounds is it assumed that, for the purpose of deciphering these inscriptions, a particular one of these languages ought to be used in preference to the others? Such objections as these are obvious, but any satisfactory answer to them is not so evident; and, consequently, it cannot be admitted merely on conjectures, which have not even consistency and probability to recommend them, that the language engraved on ancient Persian inscriptions and medals is actually Pahlvi: and hence it necessarily follows that this supposed decipherment cannot be received as any proof that the Pahlvi, if it ever existed, was at any time the common speech of Persia.

* Mém. sur Div. Ant. de la Perse, p. 201.

† Sir W. Jones has before observed, — "Assuming, however, that we may reason as conclusively on the characters published by Niebuhr, as we might on the monuments themselves, were they now before us, we may begin by observing, as Chardin had observed on the very spot, that they bear no resemblance whatever to the letters used by the Gabrs in their copies of the Vendidàd. This I once urged, in an amicable debate with Bahman, as a proof that the Zend letters were a modern invention; but he seemed to hear me without surprise, and insisted that the letters to which I alluded, and which he had often seen, were monumental characters never used in books, and intended either to conceal some religious mysteries from the vulgar, or to display the art of the sculptor, like the embellished Cufick and Nágarì on several Arabian and Indian monuments. He wondered that any man could seriously doubt the antiquity of the Pahlavì letters; and, in truth, the inscription behind the horse of Rustam, which Niebuhr has also given us, is apparently Pahlavì, and might with some pains be decyphered." — *Sir W. Jones's Works*, vol. i. p. 85.

See, also, Plates E, F No. 1., and F No. 2.

The preceding remarks, therefore, will perhaps evince that there are no grounds for supposing that Zend and Pahlvi ever prevailed as languages in Persia; and I have, no doubt, sufficiently shown that neither Celtic nor Gothic could possibly have been the language which was at any time spoken in this country. But it is evident that this extensive region, possessing every advantage of climate, must have been inhabited from the remotest antiquity; and that, from its being so remarkably protected by natural barriers from all hostile attacks, a flourishing kingdom must have been established in it at a very early period of the world. For, as Sir W. Jones has very justly observed, "it would seem unaccountably strange that, although Abraham had found a regular monarchy in Egypt, although the kingdom of Yemen had just pretensions to very high antiquity, although the Chinese in the twelfth century before our æra had made approaches at least to the present form of their extensive dominion, and although we can hardly suppose the first Indian monarchs to have reigned less than 3000 years ago, yet Persia, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all should have remained until 900 years before Christ unsettled and disunited."* But, had such a kingdom existed in Persia, and its existence cannot be reasonably doubted, it necessarily follows that the people must have spoken one uniform language; and, as there is not the slightest indication in history that Persia was ever occupied by a foreign race, or even temporarily subjected, previous to the Arabian conquest, to any foreign influence except that of the Greeks, it must as necessarily follow that the modern Persian actually existing is a dialect of either Arabic or Greek, or that it is, in fact, the very language which has been spoken in Persia from time immemorial. Because it cannot be denied that the ancient inhabitants of this country must have made use of some common speech, and that, amongst a people unaddicted to commerce or foreign war, incapable of making any material improvements in the degree of civilisation to which they had at a very early period attained, and unsubjected to the influence of strangers, no conceivable cause can be assigned for any change taking

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 77.

place in their language, after it was once completely formed.* But neither Greek nor Arabic words appear in pure Persian, to attest that its originality was ever in the slightest degree affected by the languages of the conquerors of the land, and, consequently, it must be concluded that the pure Persian of this day is, in all probability, the very same language which has been always spoken by the people of Persia.

The Grecian writers, indeed, describe this country to have been anciently divided into two distinct nations, which were not united into one kingdom until the reign of Cyrus, or about 558 years before Christ: but such a division is perfectly unknown to both Parsis and Muhammadans, and no word resembling *Media* is to be found in either Zend, Pahlvi, or Persian. This supposition, also, is liable to so many objections, arising from the great discrepancies which exist in the accounts of Media given by the Greeks, that it cannot, on any just principle of reasoning, be received as a well ascertained fact: and, were it even admitted, it would merely prove that a language distinct from Persian had at one time prevailed in the north-western part of Persia; but it would afford no explanation respecting either the nature of this language, or the particular circumstances in which it differed from Persian, or the causes which had occasioned its extinction. In discussing, therefore, the present subject, the existence or non-existence of a kingdom of Media is perfectly immaterial; because the former would in no manner disprove the actual prevalence of Persian in the greatest part of Persia. †

* The supposition, that any people would *of themselves* change the language which they had received from their fathers, and by which alone they could make themselves intelligible to each other, is so extravagant and contrary to experience, that this alone ought to discredit every hypothesis which is founded upon it. But, in the present case, it is required to be believed, that the fifteen millions of inhabitants, which Persia probably contained, first spoke Zend, then Pahlvi, and finally the modern Persian; notwithstanding the self-evident refutation of this improbable assumption, which arises from the simple circumstance of there not being a single Zend word in Pahlvi, and of there being two thirds more Persian words in the former than in the latter.

† The opinion, however, that Zend was the language of Media must stand or fall with the credit which is given to Greek writers; for the existence of Media, as a distinct kingdom, depends solely on their authority. But, if their positive testimony in one case is to be received without question, I can see no reason why the negative evidence arising from their

The predominance, at the same time, of Persian, as the common speech of this land, forms an insuperable objection to the possibility of Zend or Pahlvi ever having been the spoken languages of Persia: for the use of the latter is supposed to have ceased at the conquest of the country by the Arabs; and nothing is more fully established than that, from the decisive battle of Nehavend until the first Persian author *, no foreign power except the Arabs entered Persia. If, therefore, the Persians had, in this interval of 300 years, changed their language, they would, undoubtedly, have adopted that of their conquerors in the same manner as they adopted their laws and religion: but, in Persian, Arabic always appears perfectly distinct, and the words borrowed from it consist solely of nouns, adjectives, and participles, which suffer no alteration on being thus naturalised in Persian †: nor is there, I am certain, a single word in Arabic (with the exception of local, juridical, and religious terms) which has not a corresponding term in Persian.

Of the copiousness also of this language, and of its requiring no foreign assistance for commanding variety of expression, the Shah Nameh is alone a sufficient proof; for in it Arabic words are very sparingly used ‡, and yet no poem abounds in more diversified

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silence ought to be rejected; and, consequently, as no Greek writer mentions the existence in Persia of three distinct nations, speaking three distinct languages, the hypothesis, which supposes that Zend, Pahlvi, and Persian coexisted at some time or other in this country, must be considered as totally groundless.

* The battle of Nehavend took place in A.D. 641, and Abu'l Fazl Ahmed, the translator of Tabari, died in 946, but at what age I have not been able to ascertain, though he must have been advanced in life, as he was vizier to Nuh Ben Nasser one of the Samanich princes.

† Except, I believe, that in Arabic a noun may sometimes form its plural in the Persian manner. Adelung, therefore, is mistaken in stating that Arabic words adopt the Persian terminations, as in German the French words *complimenteren geniren*. Mithridates, vol. i. p. 286.

‡ To satisfy myself on this point, I examined three different passages of the Shah Nameh, consisting of one thousand couplets, and the result, omitting five or six military terms, generally repeated, was the following: —

First 1000 couplets contained	54 Arabic words
Second 1000 - -	30
Third 1000 - -	46

or not quite five words in each hundred verses. But all these words have corresponding

descriptions of all the beauties of nature, and all the various manners, customs, sentiments, and actions of man. Firdausi, also, flourished 350 years after the Arabian conquest, and, notwithstanding, the style of his 60,000 couplets is every where sustained, and every where exhibits a completely formed and highly polished language. Compare this poem with the works of Chaucer and Dante, and it will then incontestably appear that Firdausi wrote in a long established and refined language, thoroughly adapted for all the grace and elegance of poetry; while the latter were obliged to compel a colloquial tongue, rude and unformed, to express poetical conceptions to which it had never before been accustomed. But it is utterly impossible that the Persian could have acquired such perfection, had its formation, or even predominance, not taken place previous to the Arabian conquest; because, after that event until the accession of Shah Ismail, the first prince of the Sefavich dynasty, Persia continued to be divided into a number of independent states, which would have completely prevented the uniform formation and general adoption of one common language.

The opinions, however, respecting the origin of Persian and the time when it became predominant, are as various as it might naturally be expected they would be, when they are all founded on mere conjectures, in direct opposition to the plainest principles of probability and etymology. For Anquetil du Perron remarks, — "Je la suppose d'abord pure et sans mélange d'Arabe, et je dis que le Parsi, pris dans ce sens, vient du Zend et non du Pehlvi... Sorties toutes deux d'une même mère, le Zend, il est naturel qu'elles aient des traits de famille, et quelque chose malgré cela qui les différencie."* Sir William Jones observes, — "From all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that

terms in Persian, which are much more frequently used in this poem; and, consequently, the use of the Arabic words was not absolutely necessary, though they have been employed, probably, for variety, or for facilitating the versification. I recollect, indeed, three Arabic words only, viz. *kalb*, the centre of an army, *naal*, a horseshoe; and *tauk*, an ornamental collar, which Firdausi uses in exclusion of the corresponding Persian terms.

* Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc., vol. xxxi. p. 413.

the oldest discoverable languages of Persia were Chaldaic and Sanscrit; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the Pahlavì and Zend were deduced from them respectively, and the Pársì either from the Zend or immediately from the dialect of the Bráhmans." * And Adelung expresses a still more circumstantial opinion, — "Parsi, this is the name of the people and language of the present southern province Fars, a plain and fertile land under a warm and smiling sky. Before Cyrus, and even at his time, it was principally inhabited by rude nomadic tribes; but afterwards it became the metropolis of the kingdom, and the seat of Median refinement and luxury. The cultivation of its language succeeded, which, gradually acquiring predominance, became, under the Sassanian dynasty, the language of the court and of public business, and in time surpassed all its sisters in softness, richness, and refinement." †

But, had these and other writers, instead of drawing fancy-pictures from their own imaginations, merely submitted to the trouble of carefully examining the Persian language as it appears in the Shah Nameh, they would themselves have been convinced that it is not derived from either the Zend or the Pahlvi, and that it bears not any affinity whatever to either ‡: because the slightest examination of it will show that its complete originality admits not of a doubt; for its grammatical structure is peculiar to itself, and it contains no foreign words except

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 83.

† Adelung's Mithridates, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ Richardson very justly remarks, — "Zend [and he might have added Pahlvi] appears not to bear the most distant radical resemblance to the modern dialect of Persia; a circumstance which all observation declares to be impossible, had it ever existed as an ancient Persian idiom. No convulsions of government, no efforts of the learned, can ever so alter a language as to deface every line of resemblance between the speech of the present day and that of even the remotest ancestry; nothing but the absolute extirpation of the aboriginal natives can apparently accomplish so singular a revolution. If we look into the languages of modern Europe, we shall discover every where the strongest features of their Celtic or Gothic original, amidst all the refinement of Roman and Grecian embellishment. If we examine the dialect of the modern Greeks, notwithstanding their slavish subjection to the despotism of the Turks, we shall find the corruption but slightly disguises the original tongue." — *Diss. prefixed to Persian Dict.*

Sanscrit.* On what grounds, therefore, can it be supposed that it is derived from any other language? To this obvious objection it must be evident there can be no answer; for, if peculiarity of grammatical structure and purity of words do not constitute an original tongue, there can be no first principles by which the tracing the affinity of languages can be regulated. But the consecutive extinction, amongst a people never conquered by foreigners, of two languages, and the formation of a third perfectly distinct from these two, are phenomena which have never yet been witnessed, and which, it may safely be pronounced, are utterly impossible. A hypothesis, therefore, which rests on such an absurdity as supposes that Zend was first spoken in Persia, then Pahlvi, and finally Persian, might appear undeserving of refutation, had it not received the support of several distinguished writers. Nor is the hypothesis which supposes these languages to have coexisted in this country less absurd: because that part of Persia which spoke Pahlvi is directly interposed between those parts in which Zend and Persian are conjectured to have prevailed; and yet it is contended that Persian is derived from Zend, without adverting to the obstacle which these system-makers had themselves erected, and which completely prevented such a communication taking place between Media and Fars, as would have admitted of the latter receiving any part of its language from the former. The complete improbability, therefore, if not impossibility of such suppositions must irresistibly lead to the simple and rational conclusion, that the pure Persian of the present day is not only the very language which was spoken in the royal halls of the last Sassanian prince, but also that which has prevailed from the remotest antiquity throughout the whole of this delightful country.†

* The few Greek words that now occur in it were clearly introduced from the Arabic; and, after the above remarks, it will probably be admitted that the Persian words in Zend and Pahlvi have passed from the former into the latter, and not from the latter into the former.

† This conclusion might have been supported by adducing the words given as Persian in ancient writers, had they not, unfortunately, been so disfigured by their orthography as to render it impossible to identify them; though they undoubtedly exhibit a much greater

There is, at the same time, another objection, already made by Richardson, to the derivation of Persian from Zend, which has not received that attention to which it is justly entitled; for it is undeniable that there are certain alphabetical sounds peculiar to every nation, the proper pronunciation of which is unattainable by foreigners. Supposing it, therefore, possible that any people should themselves change their mother tongue, it is self-evident that they could not acquire, by mere intuition, a knowledge of unknown sounds and the capability of pronouncing them. But the harsh texture of the Zend is perfectly incompatible with the genius of Persian pronunciation, or, indeed, with the facility and rapidity of utterance which are the invariable characteristics of every language which has

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resemblance to Persian than to Zend or Pahlvi. The following, however, may be quoted as in some degree confirmatory of the opinion above expressed: —

ganze[a], گنج (*ganj*), treasure.
ahastaran[a], استران (*asteran*), mules.
hega[b] خواجه (*khajeh*), eunuch.
μαρτιχωρα[c], مرد خور (*mard-khor*), man-eater
παρυβον[c] read καρυβον, کاه روب (*kah-rub*), straw-attracting, *i. e.* amber.
σιπτα χορα[c], سفید خار (*safid-khar*), white-thorn.
κυρον[d], خور (*khur*), the sun.
δειγανες[e], دهگان (*dihgan*), the head man of a village.
σαραπαρα[f], سر بور (*sări-bur*), head-cutter.
ανατις[f], اناهید (*anāhid*), the planet Venus.
αζαρα[f], ازر (*azar*), fire, a pyræum.
καρδα[f], کرد (*kord*), brave, warlike.
σαλανην[g] read σαλαρην, سالار (*salar*), a leader.
hypobarus[h], خوب بار (*khub-bar*), τα αγαθα φερων.

The following passage, also, of Pliny may be translated by means of Persian, so as to retain the point which seems intended: — "Ultra sunt Scytharum populi; Persæ illos Sacas in universum appellavere, Scythæ ipsi Persas Khorsakas."[i] *i. e.* The Persians call the Scythians dogs, and they, in return, call the Persians dog-eaters.[k]

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[a] Bocharti Chal., lib. i. c. 15.
[b] Esther, c. ii. v. 3., in the Septuagint τῳ εννουχῳ.
[c] Ctesias in Indicis.
[d] Plut. in Artax.
[e] Polybius.
[f] Strabo.
[g] Procopius.
[h] Plinius, lib. xxxvii. c. 2.
[i] Plinius, lib. vi. c. 17.
[k] From سگ (*sag*), a dog, and خور (*khor*), an eater.

been actually employed by a civilised people, as the medium of colloquial intercourse. For instance, such words as *vekanvaroesh, veiaosetched, gueouastrieoereze, karschouetched, frekereioesch, reotcherghanm, aperenaeokenanm, bameneouas, decoucied, ickhschteschtche, ictheoucante, azoanteouclesch, iaonghieouerete, peraontiao.* These and other Zend words have not the most distant resemblance to Persian, as the reader will himself observe on referring to the Comparative Table in Part II. Had, also, the latter language been derived from the former, the numerous Sanscrit words that are found in Persian ought to have undergone the same changes which they exhibit in Zend: but, on the contrary, they have suffered less alteration, than that to which they would have been subjected had they passed into any of the vernacular dialects of India. For example, S. *shubha*, P. *khub*, Z. *ehobie*; S. *rochanam*, P. *roshan*, Z. *rotchenghem*; S. *nara*, P. *nar*, Z. *neresch*; S. *bhima*, P. *bim*, Z. *bienghe*. But, out of 176 Sanscrit words found either in Persian or Zend *, there are thirty only which are common to both these languages: a circumstance that strongly proves the impossibility of Zend having been the primitive language from which Persian was derived; because, in that case, the latter ought to contain more Sanscrit words common to the former, and Zend itself ought to contain a greater number of such words than the Persian.

The pure Persian language, however, is not entirely original, because it contains at least 260 Sanscrit words, but, with this exception, not another foreign term can be discovered in it. But the peculiarity of its grammatical structure evinces that it cannot possibly have been derived from Sanscrit; for this language distinguishes the cases of nouns and tenses of verbs by inflections, and delights in forming its words by various modifications of the primitive, or by its composition with particles. † The Persian, on the contrary, employs prepositions and auxiliary verbs for the first

* See Appendix, No. I.

† The suffixes and affixes used in Sanscrit for this purpose amount to 958, and in Persian they do not exceed twenty.

purpose; and admits in a very sparing degree of any modification of the primitive. The formation, also, of four tenses of the verb by means of particles is peculiar to itself; and it partakes of the Arabic grammatical system, while it differs from the Sanscrit, in affixing parts only of the pronouns to the noun or verb with which they are placed in construction. The Persian, at the same time, is dissimilar from the Sanscrit, in having neither dual number nor genders, and in its adjectives being indeclinable.

But no conceivable cause can be assigned for such radical differences, had the grammatical structure of Persian ever been the same as that of Sanscrit; because experience sufficiently proves that conquest alone can effect any material change in language, and that even its influence is not powerful enough to produce a complete alteration in the grammatical forms to which a people has been long accustomed. As, therefore, there is no indication in tradition or history that a nation speaking Sanscrit ever conquered Persia, it must be admitted that its grammatical structure is alone sufficient to demonstrate that Persian is not indebted to that language for its origin. But the Sanscrit words which are still discoverable in Persian are much too numerous, and expressive of too great a diversity of ideas, to sanction the supposition, that they could have been introduced into it by mere intercourse, whether hostile or commercial, between the Persians and a people speaking Sanscrit.

So far, therefore, as relates to the Hindus, these remarks of Sir W. Jones would appear to be well founded,—"So that the three families, whose lineage we have examined in former discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in Iran [Persia] long before the Tartars and Arabs had rushed from their deserts, and returned to that very country, from which, in all probability, they originally proceeded, and which the Hindus had abandoned in an earlier age, with positive commands from their legislators to revisit it no more. I close this head with observing, that no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for the Sanscrit and Chaldaic words, which we find in

the old Persian tongues: because they are, in the first place, too numerous to have been introduced by such means; and, secondly, are not the names of exotic animals, commodities, or arts, but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man." * Had, however, the original inhabitants of Persia been Hindus, the people who remained in it must have spoken precisely the same language as those who migrated from it, and the colony must either have retained this language, or adopted a new one. In the first case, consequently, Persian ought even at this day to contain a greater number of Sanscrit words, and to exhibit a grammatical system nearly similar to that of Sanscrit; and, in the other case, though Sanscrit might retain many terms common to Persian, it ought at the same time to exhibit distinctly its mixed origin: but, on the contrary, Sanscrit is the purest of languages, as it does not contain a single exotic word, and, while the Sanscrit grammatical system is easily identified in Greek, not a trace of it can be discovered in Persian.

That part, therefore, of Sir W. Jones's hypothesis which supposes that the aborigines of Persia were Hindus is untenable; but it is equally evident that a people speaking Sanscrit must have at some time not only inhabited this country, but have also possessed such influence in it as could have occasioned the introduction of so many words of their own tongue into the vernacular language. As, also, fifty-five of the Sanscrit words found in Persian are equally found in Greek, it must necessarily follow that they had passed into Persian one or two centuries before the poems of Homer were written, because at that time the Greek language appears to have been completely formed. But there is no indication in history, or in Sanscrit works, that the Hindus ever made any foreign conquests; and the contrary would appear most probable, from the great antiquity of those institutions which prevent a Hindu from leaving for any cause *the land of holiness*. The establishment in Persia, therefore, of a people

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 83.

speaking Sanscrit must evidently have preceded their entrance into India, and, if not aborigines of the country, they must necessarily have immigrated into it from some other kingdom. Thus, again, the conjecture irresistibly presents itself, that this people speaking Sanscrit could be no other than a numerous colony which had migrated from Babylon on its conquest by the Ninus of Herodotus, part of which established itself in Persia and part proceeded on to India.

Nor, if this conjecture be admitted, can it seem improbable, from the wide-spread fame of the Chaldeans, that this colony should be enabled to improve the Persians in arts and civilisation, and thus to occasion the introduction of many Babylonian or Sanscrit words into the language of Persia: for the similar introduction of Latin words into all the dialects of Celtic now existing, and of Sanscrit into the vernacular dialects of India, sufficiently shows that the conquest of a country is not the only means by which its language may become affected by foreign influence. It may however, be objected that, in these instances, this influence prevailed in consequence of a new religion having been propagated in the foreign language; and that the universal voice of antiquity attests that the religion of Persia was totally dissimilar from that of India. But it must be recollected that the earliest writer who has given a description of the Persians flourished so late as 450 years B. C., and, consequently, that his authority cannot determine what the popular faith of the Persians may have been 800 years before his time. All accounts, also, ancient, Parsi, and Muhammadan, concur in ascribing to Zoroaster, or Zardusht, the introduction of a new religion into Persia. Hence, it may be reasonably concluded, from the systems of belief that existed in the neighbouring countries, that the popular faith subverted by Zoroaster was idolatry; and that his great merit must have consisted in withdrawing the Persians from the worship of idols, and in imparting to them juster notions of the Supreme Being.

Although, also, the religion of Babylonia was no doubt idolatry, this colony might have introduced, as in India, various alterations into the

system of popular faith which might have then prevailed in Persia. The memory even of one remarkable circumstance, the institution of caste, has been preserved by Muhammadan writers, which identifies the ancient Persian religion with that of the Egyptians and Hindus, and thus renders its common origin almost demonstrated. For Tabari, in his account of Jemshid, relates, that "he divided the people into four classes, one consisted of soldiers, another of learned men, another of scribes and artizans, and another of agriculturists: and he commanded each class to follow their respective occupations, the agriculturists to reside in the country, the scribes to exercise the office of magistrates, the soldiers to attend at his gate, and he placed the learned men over the three other classes, and commanded them to take care that each class pursued its own occupation." These words evidently show that this description depends not on any account of a similar institution in India which Tabari might have heard of*, but must have been derived from some tradition preserved in Persia. No other traces, however, of the ancient religion of the Persians previous to Zoroaster can now be discovered. But this tradition, supported by the irrefutable testimony of language, must tend to render it highly probable that a colony, similar in all respects to that which introduced the Brahminical religion into India, was also about the same time established in Persia, and that both these colonies proceeded from one and the same country, the ancient Babylonia.

But, in whatever manner the cause of the existence of Sanscrit words in Persian may be explained, it is undeniable that except them no other foreign terms can be found in this language; and, consequently, its purity and originality demonstrate that neither Scythians, Celts, Pelasgi, or Goths ever inhabited Persia. It hence, also, appears that the words in Persian which seem to be cognate with terms in Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic dialects, have been principally derived

* It is to be remarked that Tabari was born in A. D. 838, and that the Muhammadans never made any successful attack on India until Mahmud of Ghoznin in A. D. 1000. Nor does there appear to have existed any intercourse between India and Bagdad, which could have enabled Tabari to acquire any knowledge of the institutions of the Hindus.

from one common origin, the Sanscrit; and that the few * which cannot be traced to this source are not sufficiently numerous to invalidate this conclusion; because neither geography, chronology, nor history warrants the supposition that they could ever have passed from these languages into Persian, though it is not possible to point out the manner in which they may have passed from the latter into the former. The existence, at the same time, of 265 Sanscrit words in Persian, most fully evinces that Pahlvi could not have been the common speech of Persia at the time of the Arabian conquest; for, after that event, the state of the country rendered the introduction into Persian of so many Sanscrit words expressive of such a diversity of ideas utterly impossible. Nor, when the antiquity of the Hindu institutions is considered, does the coexistence of three distinct languages in Persia, and the introduction of such numerous foreign terms into one of these only, appear in the least more probable. To suppose, indeed, a colony, so powerful as to occasion so many words of its own tongue to have passed into the vernacular language of the whole of Persia, to have been established in the province of Fars and its dependencies only, at least 1200 years B. C., is an opinion much too absurd to be maintained by any person. These Sanscrit words, therefore, and the remote period at which they must have been introduced into Persian, must alone be sufficient to demonstrate that the people of Persia have always spoken but one and the same mother tongue; and, consequently, affinity of language, the most indisputable of testimonies, completely disproves the supposition that Persian is the same language that was spoken by the Scythians, from which it has been conjectured that the Celtic, Pelasgic, and Gothic have been derived.

* I have inserted in the preceding Chapter such as I have been able to discover, amounting to forty-one in number.

CHAP. XII.

THE SANSCRIT LANGUAGE.

The existence of more than 900 Sanscrit words in the Greek, Latin, Persian, and Teutonic languages, incontestably proves that the people speaking these tongues must have been at some time intimately connected together; and the poems of Homer equally prove that this intercourse must have taken place at least nine hundred years before the Christian era. It cannot, however, be supposed that the Hindus received these words from the Greeks, Romans, Persians, or Thracians, and it must consequently follow that the latter received them from the former; or that the languages of all these people, so widely separated from each other when they first became known to history, were derived from one common origin. But to this last conclusion the perfect originality of Sanscrit forms an insurmountable objection: for Sir W. Jones has with the greatest justice observed that "the Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists."* It is, therefore, the structure of Sanscrit which so peculiarly distinguishes it from other languages, and which impresses on it a character of originality which cannot be disputed; for it contains no exotic terms, and, though I have before observed that its roots are evidently the work of grammarians, and not a constituent part of the language, still its words show that

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 26.

they have been all formed solely by the people who spoke it, according to some well known principle. *

These roots, indeed, are a strong proof of the great diligence with which Sanscrit has been subjected to grammatical rules; but, as they are merely monosyllables consisting of the radical letters which compose the words that are derived from them, and have in themselves no distinct meaning, it is evident that they must have been formed long after the origin of the language. The suffixes and affixes, also, employed in the formation of derivatives, are undoubtedly nothing more than a classification by grammarians of such letters and syllables of actually existing words as could not be comprised in these roots. Such an analysis, however, of Sanscrit could not possibly have taken place until the language was completely formed, and even perhaps not until it had ceased to be a spoken tongue. The innumerable Sanscrit works on philology, at the same time, show that the present perfection of its grammar has been the result of a long consideration of the subject, and that the multifarious rules which it exhibits could never have been of any practical use to all classes of men; but, when they are understood even superficially, they fully justify this remark of Mr. Forster,— "What hopes would the unremitted toil of a protracted life, even of one endowed with the intuitive genius, the all-embracing faculties of a Sir W. Jones hold out, of attaining such an incredible language, was not every step directed by etymological rules, at once general, simple, and comprehensive?" † These rules relate

* It is, for instance, sufficiently evident that *bhăra*, that which supports; *bharata*, a servant; *bharaniam*, wages; *bharaniu*, a master; *bharatha*, a king; *bharta*, a husband; *bharia*, a wife; *bhara*, a burden; *bhrita*, hired; *bhṛiti*, wages; *bhritya*, a servant, are all cognate words with the verb *bibharti* or *bharati*, he supports, maintains, or bears: but no other person than a grammarian would have thought of deriving all these words from the monosyllable *bhri*.

† Dedication to his Sanscrit Grammar. Mr. Forster had just before observed that the roots amount to about two thousand four or five hundred: — "Each of these roots admits of twenty-five or six of the suffixes termed kridantas, and forms as many verbal nouns, participles, and the like, that is, above sixty thousand; these roots take likewise one or more of the particles as prefixes and become new roots, with a different signification, in which state they also receive the above kridanta suffixes, and, consequently, form an equal number of nouns with each particle.

to the fixed application of 958 increments to 2,500 roots; but it must be obvious that, though this incalculable means of composition might still further add to the multitude of Sanscrit words, and might define the minutest modification of the same idea, it could not increase the copiousness of the original ideas which the primitive words denoted. It is not, consequently, either in the variety or comprehensiveness of expression that the Sanscrit surpasses the Greek and Latin, because in these respects it is inferior to each of them, but in the philological beauties of originality, and the synthetical precision of its structure.

It is not, however, indispensable that a language should admit of the majority of its words being decompounded and traced up to simpler elements; because the Persian evinces that a very copious language may be formed without the assistance of modifying the primitive by means of suffixes: but, when the whole frame and analogy of the speech of any people, as that of the Greeks and Romans, prove beyond a doubt that many of the words exist not in their simplest state, it must be concluded that composition had been essential to its formation; and, whenever, therefore, these simpler elements cannot be discovered in the tongue itself, it as necessarily

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"The whole of the above roots are capable of receiving five modifications, most of them eleven, and form causals, desideratives, repetitives, causal desideratives, and so forth, all of which admit of the foregoing verbal suffixes, and most of them of being preceded by the particles.

"And lastly, these roots become verbs, taking either the active form, called the parismi pad, or the middle form, denominated ātmane pad; they may likewise receive the above five or eleven modifications of causals, &c., in their capacities of verbs, and may be likewise preceded by the particles. All nouns may become verbs, by the addition of a class of suffixes called 'lid'hu.' All roots, besides, admit of the passive voice.

"Every verb has ten tenses in each form, that is, active or middle, and also the passive voice; each tense has three numbers, and each number three persons.

"Every noun admits of a variety of the suffixes termed 'tadd'hita,' as do the pronouns, cardinal numbers, the simple affirmative adjectives, and those observed to be of doubtful origin.

"Every substantive has three numbers, and eight inflections in each, and every adjective has three degrees of comparison, three genders in each, and the cases and numbers like substantives."

follows that it is not an original one, but derived from some other language. It is in this respect that Sanscrit differs so materially from Greek and Latin; for, as the labours of the Sanscrit grammarians have proved, it admits of being completely analysed by merely reducing its compound words to certain simple elements which exist in the language itself: but the Greek and Latin sufficiently prove that this could not have been the case had the Sanscrit been derived from any other language*; for they contain many words that admit not of analysis, and the irregularities that occur in their grammatical systems evince that they have not been formed according to any leading and uniform principles. When, therefore, these circumstances are considered, it would seem irresistibly to follow that Sanscrit itself is that primitive language from which Greek, Latin, and the mother of the Teutonic dialects were originally derived.

This conclusion would be conformable to the opinion of the Hindus; for they believe that India was the part of the world first peopled, and their sacred books contain accounts of many emigrations from it in all directions. They, consequently, would find no difficulty in explaining the cause which has introduced Sanscrit words into the languages of

* M. Klaproth, indeed, remarks that "the Sanscrit, which is generally considered as so old a language, betrays in itself every appearance of recent formation, and is, in truth, a remarkably modern language, the newness of which is disguised and concealed by its roots." — *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 45. But, as he has not explained on what grounds this oracular observation rests, I cannot form any conjecture respecting the reason which may have led him to such a conclusion. Like other writers, however, M. Klaproth seems to allow his opinions to be influenced entirely by a favourite hypothesis; for otherwise he would scarcely have made the following remarks: — "The great similarity between the languages of this people [the Indo-Germanic] has often induced antiquarians to derive them from one another. This is ever the case with languages. At one time all languages were derived from the Celtic of which we know nothing; at another time they were all daughters of German or Greek; and at present their origin must be sought for in Persia or India, where it is as little likely to be found as at *Antwerp*, which it has been attempted to identify with *Agyrta*. It is a singular idea to suppose that languages like animals have sprung and been procreated from one another; but it is to be wished that the notion of derivation should be given up, and that all languages related to each other should be considered as sisters, whose parent is unknown," — *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 43. That any person writing on the affinity of languages should make such remarks as these must appear most extraordinary, but that they are perfectly unfounded these Researches will perhaps fully evince.

other people, as they would ascribe it to their having been descended from the Hindus, and to their having preserved words of their primeval tongue, although they had forgotten the civil and religious institutions of their progenitors. It is, however, difficult to fix the original boundaries of India; because the Hindus describe it as having been bounded on the east and west by the sea, the land gradually contracting until it terminated in a point on the south, and on the north by the Himalayah mountain, which extended in a semilunar form from sea to sea. The ocean thus sufficiently marks the east, west, and southern boundaries; but neither the position of the Himalayah, nor of any chain of mountains connected with it, will coincide with the Hindu geography: but the southern extremity of the Himalayah so nearly approaches the upper and eastern part of the Bay of Bengal, as to answer exactly enough to the description of the Hindus, and the western extremity may be sought for in the mountains of Baluchistan, extending to the Arabian Sea, while the northern boundary is marked by the Hindu Cosh and the mountains branching from it.* The ancient land of the Hindus would thus comprise the whole of present India, with Butan, Nepal, Cabul, Kandahar, and the greatest part of Balkh: but the Hindus say that the northern parts have been long occupied by barbarians, and that the northern limit has in consequence been the Attack from a period which they cannot specify.

On this point no satisfactory information is derived from ancient writers, as they all seem to follow Herodotus in describing the country to the west of the Indus, as forming part of the kingdom of Persia. Strabo, however, after considering different authorities, states this to be his opinion; — "The Indus was the boundary of India and Ariana, and the Persians possessed the country lying to the west of this river; but, subsequently, the Indians held great part of Ariana, having taken

* For the geography, and the Hindu legends respecting the Hindu Caucasus, see Wilford's paper in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

See also, for the northern parts of ancient India, the map prefixed to Elphinstone's Cabul, and the memoir of its construction.

it from the Persians." *. It appears, also, from Firishtah, that, as late as A. D. 1000., Cabul was in possession of a Hindu prince, who opposed the invasion of Mahmud of Ghoznin: but the want of Hindu histories renders it impossible to determine the precise period to which the numerous Hindu legends relate, the scene of which is unquestionably laid in countries to the north and west of the Indus.

It must, therefore, appear surprising that the language of Persia which country in either case was conterminous to India, should be so radically dissimilar from Sanscrit: but, as this circumstance will not perhaps after the preceding remarks be disputed, this dissimilarity proves that the world could not have been peopled from India; because, in this case, Persia must have been also occupied by a Hindu race, and, as mutual intercourse would probably have been maintained between a kindred people, the Sanscrit ought to have been preserved in its greatest purity in Persia. It is, on the contrary, in Greece and Italy, both situated to the west of India and Persia, that the languages exhibit a striking likeness of their parent, not only in similarity of numerous words, but in absolute identity of grammatical structure. At the same time, Persian contains too many identical terms with Sanscrit, to admit of its being supposed that they could have been introduced into that country either by commerce or war. Were, indeed, credit given to ancient writers, invasion and conquest were on the side of the Persians, and, consequently, some Persian words ought to be found in Sanscrit; but, as this is not the case, and as the words belonging to both tongues can be analysed and reduced to simpler elements, and have cognate terms in Sanscrit only, it necessarily follows that the latter must have been the original language. The Teutonic dialects, also, though now dissimilar from Sanscrit in their grammatical structure, still contain many Sanscrit words, while in their early state they appear to have been entirely free from all other foreign terms. If, therefore, I have rendered it probable that Greek, Latin, and Thracian, or the mother of the Teutonic dialects, were all originally the same language, that spoken in Asia

* Strabo, p. 688, 689.

Minor about thirteen or fourteen hundred years before the Christian era, it merely remains to place the people who then spoke Sanscrit in a centrical position between Persia and Asia Minor, or, in other words, in that very country in which were established the Babylonian and Assyrian empires.

According to this supposition, the similarity between Sanscrit and the languages of Europe is explained in a manner the most simple and probable; for, Asia Minor being peopled from Babylonia, the inhabitants preserved the grammatical structure of their mother tongue, but, from causes now impossible to ascertain, could not prevent a great change from taking place in the words of which it was originally composed. In migrating from Asia Minor, the Greeks retained the grammatical structure with little alteration, but among the Latins it became considerably affected, and among the Teutonic people it has been in a great measure lost *: but the Sanscrit words are as numerous in Latin and the Teutonic dialects as in Greek. Persia, however, forms a difficulty to this conjecture; for, from its position, it ought to have been peopled from Babylonia in the same manner as Asia Minor, and to have preserved, from its secluded situation, the grammatical structure of Sanscrit in even greater purity. The solution of this difficulty would be easy, could it be supposed that the Persian language had lost its grammatical inflections from the same causes that the Teutonic dialects have acquired their present simplicity. But not even to support my own hypothesis can I admit that the structure and general analogy of the Persian could ever have been the same as Sanscrit; for, had it been so, no instance exists of such a dissimilarity having taken place in languages once identical, nor can any cause be conceived, except that of foreign influence which never was exerted in that country, which could effect it. Persia, therefore, may have been originally, at a remote period, peopled from Babylonia; but its inhabitants, in whatever manner, acquired a language perfectly distinct from Sanscrit. Subsequently, however, it is equally evident that a

* For further remarks on this point see p. 263.

colony speaking Sanscrit must have been established and possessed considerable influence in Persia; for by no other means could so many Sanscrit words, denoting such various ideas, have been introduced into its language.

The very track, therefore, by which a people speaking Sanscrit would have proceeded from Babylonia to India, is thus distinctly pointed out, after a lapse of 3000 years, by the words of their language, which are still preserved in the speech of the only nation that intervenes between the two countries. The causes that may have occasioned this migration, or the manner in which it was conducted, are scarcely subjects of conjecture: but, if the whole of ancient history be considered, the only event that could have occasioned it was the conquest of the Babylonian empire by Ninus. On this subversion of the ancient dynasty, a new ruler may have introduced new customs, and it would probably at least be his policy to diminish the power and influence of the ancient nobility and priesthood. Under such circumstances, what can be more likely than that these classes, becoming dissatisfied, should withdraw themselves from the territories of their new sovereign, and should seek in other countries for that liberty and that distinction which they could no longer enjoy in their native land? Part of these emigrants may have proceeded into Asia Minor; but, from this country being so similar in language and religion to Babylonia, any influence which they might have exerted in it would not become perceptible in the slight notices which have been preserved of these distant times: but in Persia a distinct language prevailed, and the residence of such a colony in it is proved by the words which it communicated to the speech of its inhabitants; and in India similar emigrants succeeded in establishing an influence which has endured until the present day. It seems probable, therefore, that the Brahmans belonged originally to the priesthood of Babylonia: and, as they no doubt brought with them into India the sacred books in which their religious doctrines were contained, the antiquity of the vedas and earlier Hindu works need no longer be questioned; since they were the production of those

Chaldeans, whose remote antiquity and whose knowledge and learning are attested by the whole of ancient history.

It may, however, be objected, that it is highly improbable that a foreign colony should have been able to extend their influence from the Paropamisan mountains to Cape Comorin; and, in particular, to establish so singular an institution as that of Cast.

But, as language is the most convincing testimony, an examination of the vernacular dialects of India will render it evident that Sanscrit is a foreign language, which has been superinduced on them, and not they on Sanscrit. Nothing can be a stronger proof of this than that they have all retained their own grammatical structure, which is distinguished from that of Sanscrit by the use of postpositions in the declension of nouns, and of auxiliary verbs in the conjugation of verbs. * The changes, also, which Sanscrit words have undergone on being naturalised in these dialects, show that these changes were not made merely for the purpose of adapting them to pronunciation, but in order to subject them to the grammatical rules of a language already formed. † On this point, however, I prefer availing myself of the opinion of the late Mr. Ellis of Madras, who was distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with Sanscrit and the languages of Southern India.

"The members," observes Mr. Ellis, "constituting the family of languages, which may be appropriately called the dialects of Southern

* Mr. Campbell, in the Introduction to his Teloogoo Grammar, p. 19., observes: — "In the course of this work, it will be obvious to the Sanscrit scholar that the declension of the noun by particles or words added to it, the use of a plural pronoun applicable to the first and second persons conjointly, the conjugation of the affirmative verb, the existence of a negative aorist, a negative imperative, and other negative forms in the verb, the union of the neuter and feminine genders in the singular, and of the masculine and feminine genders in the plural, of the pronouns and verbs, and the whole body of the syntax, are entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit."

† That is, the nominative of the Sanscrit noun and the real root of the Sanscrit verb are taken, and, after occasionally suffering some slight changes, are inflected according to the grammatical rules of the vernacular dialect. Thus, in the Maratha language, *padma*, a lotus, suffers no change, but *sarpa*, a serpent, becomes *sap*, and both are declined as usual; and the verb *karoti*, he does, from the root *kri*, changed by grammatical rules to *kar*, becomes *karito*, and is conjugated like other Maratha verbs.

India, are the high and low Tamil; the Telugu, grammatical and vulgar; Carnātāca or Cannādi, ancient and modern; Malayalma or Malayalam, which after Paulinus a St. Bartholomæo may be divided into Sanscrit (Grandonico-Malabarica) and common Malayalam, though the former differs from the latter only in introducing Sanscrit terms and forms in unrestrained profusion; and the Tuluva, the native speech of that part of the country to which in our maps the name of Canara is confined..... The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which, in general, have no connexion with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language, the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannādi, &c., excepted, with which, allowing for the occasional variation of consimilar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is, in fact, to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same." * Again, "In the preceding extracts the author, supported by due authority, teaches, that rejecting direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanscrit, and words borrowed from foreign languages, what remains is *the pure native language of the land;* this constitutes the great body of the [Telugu] tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for, with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanscrit derivation is *necessary* to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic differences and variations of termination, is, with the Telugu, common to the Tamil, Cannādi, and the other dialects of Southern India." †

Mr. Ellis does not specify the northern boundary of these southern

* Note to the Introduction to Campbell's Teloogoo Grammar, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 18. In commencing his remarks, Mr. Ellis quotes the opinions of Carey, Wilkins, and Colebrooke, and then thus proceeds: — "It is the intent of the following observations to show that the statements contained in the preceding quotations are not correct; that neither the Tamil, the Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects, are derivations from the Sanscrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence, and that they form a distinct family of languages, with

languages; but in that part of India which is situated to the north of the river Krishna, and which comprises the Deccan and Hindustan Proper, other languages prevail, entirely distinct from the former in words, but similar in their grammatical system. Their particular nature, however, has attracted scarcely any attention, and I have not, therefore, the means of describing them with accuracy, or of specifying the limits of the countries in which they are spoken.* But Mr. Colebrooke has made the following observations with respect to the one of most importance: — "The Cányacubjas possessed a great empire, the metropolis of which was the ancient city of Cányacubja or Canój. Theirs seems to be the language which forms the groundwork of modern Hindustánì, and which is known by the appellation of Hindí or Hindeví. Two dialects of it may be easily distinguished; one more refined, the other less so. To this last the name of Hindí is sometimes restricted, while the other is often confounded with Prácrit. Numerous poems have been composed in both dialects, not only before the Hindustánì was ingrafted on the Hindí by a large intermixture of Persian; but also in very modern times, by Muhammedan as well as Hindu poets. *Dóhrás* or detached couplets, and *Cabits* or stanzas, in the Hindeví, may be found among the works of Muslemán authors: it will be sufficient to instance those of Melic

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which the Sanscrit has, in later times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connection."

These very correct remarks apply with equal justness to the vernacular dialects spoken to the north of the river Krishna.

* The vernacular dialects with which I have become acquainted during my residence in India are the Maratha, Gurjrati, and the Hindi to the north of the Krishna, and the Malayalam to the south of that river. The country in which the first of these is spoken is bounded on the east by the Satpur range of mountains; on the north by a line drawn from the northern termination of these mountains to Daman; on the west from Daman to Goa by the sea; and on the south from Goa to near Chanda on the Warda, and thence along that river to the Satpur mountains. The Gurjrati is confined to the province of Gurjrat, which extends from Daman on the south to the confines of Ajmere on the north, and is bounded on the east by Malwa and Kandeish, and on the west by the sea and Cutch. But I am not acquainted with the precise limits in which the Hindi at present prevails.

Muhammed Jaisí, Muhammed Afzel, and Amirkhán Anjám. Most poems in this dialect are, however, the exclusive production of Hindu poets. On examining them, the affinity of Hindí with the Sanscrĭt language is peculiarly striking: and no person acquainted with both can hesitate in affirming that Hindí is chiefly borrowed from Sanscrĭt. Many words, of which the etymology shows them to be the purest Sanscrĭt, are received unaltered; many more undergo no change but that of making the final vowel silent: a still greater number exhibit no other difference than what arises from the uniform permutation of certain letters; the rest, too, with comparatively few exceptions, may be easily traced to a Sanscrĭt origin. That this is the root from which Hindí has sprung (not Hindí the dialect whence Sanscrĭt has been refined) may be proved by etymology, the analogy of which is lost in Hindí, and preserved in Sanscrĭt. A few examples will render this evident. .... These examples might be easily multiplied, but unprofitably, I fear: for, after proving that nine tenths of the Hindí dialect may be traced back to the Sanscrĭt idiom, there yet remains the difficulty of accounting for the remaining tenth, which is, perhaps, the basis of the Hindí language. Sir William Jones thought it so; and he thence inferred that the pure Hindí was primeval in Upper India, into which the Sanscrĭt was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age. This opinion I do not mean to controvert. I only contend that, where similar words are found in both languages, the Hindí has borrowed from Sanscrĭt, rather than the Sanscrĭt from Hindí. It may be remarked, too, that in most countries the progress has been from languages rich in inflections, to dialects simple in their structure. In modern idioms, auxiliary verbs and appendant particles supply the place of numerous inflections of the root. It may for this reason be doubted whether the present structure of the Hindí tongue be not a modern refinement. But the question, which has been here hinted rather than discussed, can be decided only by a careful examination of the oldest compositions that are now extant in the Hindí dialect. Until some person execute this task, a doubt must

remain, whether the groundwork of Hindí, and, consequently, of Hindustánì, be wholly distinct from that of Sanscrĭt." *

It hence seems obvious that the opinion of Mr. Colebrooke, respecting the derivation of Hindi from Sanscrit, was formed from the perusal of Hindi works †, and not from an examination of this dialect as still spoken in a considerable part of Upper India: for Dr. Hunter's Hindustani Dictionary ‡ contains upwards of 6000 Hindi words, which have not the remotest resemblance to Sanscrit; and, consequently, according to Mr. Colebrooke's supposition, this language in its original state must have contained 60,000 words. But the very structure of Hindi, which admits not of composition or even the modification to any extent of the primitive, renders such a copiousness evidently impossible; and, as Hindustani, which is composed of Hindi, Persian, and Arabic, contains not more than 18,000 words, it may be reasonably concluded that at least one half of the Hindi still continues in use; and, also, that Hindi is a language radically dissimilar from Sanscrit, from which it has not been derived, nor has the Sanscrit been refined from it.

This point is of the utmost importance, because the Hindi is the

* Asiatic Researches, 8vo, vol. vii. p. 220.

† The works in all the vernacular dialects of India are written in a style, which, on on account of the profuse employment of Sanscrit words, and of such as are peculiar to poetry, is totally distinct, even often in its grammatical inflections, from the same dialect as spoken. In ascertaining, therefore, the affinity between these dialects and Sanscrit, all words belonging to the latter language ought to be previously excluded. Mr. Colebrooke has evidently not attended to this circumstance, and hence his reasoning on the nature of the Hindi is somewhat inconsistent, and, no doubt, different from what it would have been had he directed his attention to the basis of this dialect, and not to the Sanscrit words which have been introduced into it. Because, on the same grounds, the existence in India of any language distinct from Sanscrit might be equally disputed, as all the vernacular dialects abound in Sanscrit words; but they all at the same time present a basis radically dissimilar from it.

‡ This dictionary is stated in the titlepage to have been originally compiled by Captain Joseph Taylor for his own use, and to have been revised and prepared for the press, with the assistance of learned natives in the college of Fort William, by Dr. William Hunter. In it the language to which each word belongs is carefully marked by an appropriate letter; and, to the etymological part of the work, the only objection that can be made is that a good many of the derivations of Hindi words from Sanscrit seem forced, and by no means obvious.

basis of the present Maratha and Gurjrati, and, if I be not mistaken, of all the dialects of Northern India. Numerous words, also, are no doubt preserved in each of these dialects, which have been lost in the others; but as they all bear a cognate form which cannot be mistaken, since it resembles neither Sanscrit, Persian, nor Arabic, the mere trouble of collection and selection would, I am convinced, restore the ancient language of Kanoje to its original purity, and, very probably, to its original copiousness. But even the *membra disjecta* of this language prove that it is radically distinct from Sanscrit; for, were it even admitted that the speech of any people, unaffected by foreign influence, becomes simplified in the course of ages, a change, however, of which no instance can be produced, it would still remain to explain the cause of the total dissimilarity which exists in the structure of Sanscrit and Hindi. The circumstance of the latter abhorring composition, while the former delights in it, is alone sufficient, according to the opinion of Sir W. Jones, to establish that languages formed upon such opposite principles are totally distinct, and must have been invented by two different races of men. But the long established influence of a powerful priesthood, and the originality and purity of the Sanscrit language, sufficiently attest that the dialects of Southern and Northern India could not have been introduced into the country subsequent to the establishment of the Brahmans in it; they must, consequently, be considered to have been the vernacular tongues of its original inhabitants: and, as the parent language of the dialects of the south differs from that of the north, it would seem, also, to follow, that India must have been either originally peopled by two distinct races of men; or, what is more probable, that the aborigines of the north had, even prior to the immigration of the Brahminical colony, been conquered by a foreign people.

Mr. Colebrooke is further of opinion that Sanscrit "has nearly shared the fate of all ancient tongues, and is now become almost a dead language." He adds, in reference to the manner in which words are combined together in Sanscrit works,—"None but well known compounds would be used by any speaker who wished to be under-

stood; and each word would be distinctly articulated, independently of the terms that precede and follow it. Such, indeed, is the present practice of those who still speak the Sanscrit language; and they deliver themselves with such fluency, as is sufficient to prove that Sanscrit may have been spoken in former times with as much facility as the contemporary dialects of the Greek language, or the more modern dialects of the Arabic tongue." * That the Brahmans spoke Sanscrit amongst themselves cannot be doubted, since this practice exists in several parts of India at this day; and that the princes and nobles studied this language seems proved by various circumstances, and that they even occasionally spoke it is highly probable: but that Sanscrit was ever the vernacular tongue of the great mass of the people is equally disproved, by the totally distinct nature, both in words and grammatical structure, of the languages which have prevailed, notwithstanding conquest and the adoption of a new religion, in the north and south of India until the present day. The Brahminical colony, therefore, seem to have used in secular intercourse the dialects of the country; and it must be obvious that it was by this means alone that they could have rendered Sanscrit a mysterious and sacred language, and that they could have preserved it pure and unaffected by those innovations to which it would have necessarily been exposed, had it been attempted to introduce its use amongst the original inhabitants of India.

The indisputable testimony, therefore, of language proves that at some remote period two powerful kingdoms flourished, the one in the north, and the other in the south of India; which afterwards became divided into a number of distinct states, each distinguished by a different dialect, and by a different and independent government †:

* Asiatic Researches, 8vo, vol. vii. p. 201.

† Mr. Colebrooke observes, — "There is reason to believe that ten polished dialects formerly prevailed in as many different civilized nations, who occupied all the fertile provinces of Hindustán and the Dekhin..... Without passing the limits of Hindustan, it would be easy to collect a copious list of different dialects in the various provinces which are inhabited by the ten principal Hindu nations. The extensive region which is nearly defined by the banks of the Saraswatí and Gangá on the north, and which is strictly limited

but it equally appears that, at the period of Alexander's invasion of India, the present system of civil and religious institutions must have been long established amongst the Hindus. Such a uniformity, however, could not have possibly originated amongst a number of independent states from any conceivable circumstances of an internal nature; for it is evidently contrary to probability to suppose that a conqueror could ever have arisen in India, who was able to subdue the whole of the country, from the mountains of Baluchistan to the Himalaya, and from the Paropamisan mountains to Cape Comorin, and to impose on the conquered people his own institutions, laws, and religion: but, if it be supposed that this uniformity was produced by the gradual but unwearied exertions of a foreign priesthood, the conjecture becomes at once probable; since it is supported by the fact, that the propagation and success of Christianity were effected in exactly the same manner. Nor is it unlikely that when this priesthood had acquired influence and power, the same means by which Islamism was extended over so great a part of the world, may have been employed in establishing the Brahminical religion in India.

The introduction, however, into so extensive a country, by a foreign priesthood, of so singular an institution as that of Cast, appears to present a serious difficulty; for it seems most reasonable to suppose that so marked a distinction of ranks could only originate when men first formed themselves into societies, and when they could not foresee the consequences that might result from it; and that its permanency ought to be attributed to that veneration with which institutions, however objectionable, become invested by

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by the shores of the eastern and western seas towards the south, contains fifty-seven [six] provinces according to some lists, and eighty-four according to others. Each of these provinces has its peculiar dialect, which appears, however, in most instances to be a variety only of some one among the ten principal idioms." — *Asiatic Researches*, 8vo, vol. vii. p. 219.

But from the preceding remarks it appears that even these ten idioms are reducible to two principal languages, one of which anciently prevailed in the south and the other in the north of India.

antiquity and long established custom. But the situation of India at the time when the Brahminical colony migrated into it is unknown, and no opinion, therefore, can be formed respecting the degree of civilisation to which the Hindus might have then attained, or the extent and power of the states into which the country might have been then divided. It must, also, be remarked that, amongst all nations, before luxury has introduced artificial wants, the division of the people into priests, king, and nobles, merchants and agriculturists, artificers and servants, has been most distinctly marked, and that these different classes have, in general, always intermarried with each other. In India, consequently, it was merely necessary for a foreign priesthood to sanctify this natural division by ascribing it to a divine origin, to define its limits more precisely, and to guard against a transgression of them by denunciations of consequent punishment in this world and the next; and the Hindu institution of cast would have at once become established, without in the slightest degree interfering with the previous customs and institutions of the people. But, if entire credit could be given to the antiquity and authenticity of the sacred books of the Hindus, this point would be at once decided; for in them the whole of the civil and religious institutions of India appear to have been the result of one uniform system, and not the gradual produce of time and circumstances. Nor, judging from the anomalous laws and institutions of more civilised countries, is it possible to conceive how time and circumstances could ever have produced that uniformity which so peculiarly distinguishes the Brahminical code. If, therefore, the uniformity of a work bespeaks the hand of a single artist, it must be concluded that the existing civil and religious institutions of the Hindus did not originate among themselves, but were introduced, already formed and systematically arranged, by some foreign influence.

I am, at the same time, perfectly aware that the antiquity of the Hindu religion has been contested; but, after the preceding remarks, it will perhaps be admitted that the 339 Sanscrit words now found in Greek must have passed into it before the time of Homer, and

that the origin of that identity of grammatical system in these two languages, which is even at this day so remarkable, must be referred to a still remoter period. As, therefore, it appears incontestable, from the whole structure of Sanscrit, that every term expressive of an idea relating to the peculiar institutions and religion of the Hindus must have formed a component part of this language when it received its present form, it necessarily follows that the Brahminical system must have been completed in every essential part at least 1100 or 1200 years B. C. * But in a late work on Hindu Astronomy is this singular assertion: — "It is by the investigation of truth, and the exposure of Brahminical impositions, *which can only be done through the means of* ASTRONOMY, that the labours of those who are laudably endeavouring to introduce true religion and morality among the Hindus can have their true and beneficial effect. So long as the impositions and falsehoods contained in the Hindu books, which the common people are made to believe are the productions of their ancient sages, are suffered to remain unexposed, little progress can be expected to be made." † As I am not acquainted with the science of

* It will scarcely, I think, be denied that the name of the sacred books of their religion is a word that the Brahmans would never, on any account, have changed. But *veda* is derived from *vedati*, contracted *vetti*, *he knows*, one of the verbs most commonly used in Sanscrit, and from which several words are derived of equally frequent occurrence, as *vidya*, learning; *vidivan*, a learned man, &c. This verb, also, has been preserved in Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon, as S. *vidanti*, G. ειδονται, L. *vident*, A. S. *witon*.

† Bentley's Hindu Astronomy, p. 213.

I cannot avoid quoting the following strange remarks of Mr. Bentley, for even more absurd ones have obtained credit in Europe: — "In fact there is no imposition too gross or absurd that a Hindu will not employ to gain his ends, if he can effect it by that means. We see that by the means of this system of Brahma (invented in A. D. 538.), and of various passages like the above, inserted in the books with a view to support it, the real Hindu history and chronology have been completely destroyed; so that Yudhishthira, Parāsara, Garga, and others, who lived from about 540 to 575 B. C., were thrown back into antiquity about 2600 years more..... But to carry all this into effect, many things were necessary. In the first place, it was requisite that all their ancient books on astronomy, history, &c., that could in the smallest degree affect or contradict the new order of things, should be either destroyed, new modelled, or the obnoxious passages expunged; and, secondly, that others should be written or composed, having the appearance of antiquity, by being fathered on ancient writers, to support, as it were, by their evidence, the existence in ancient times, and through all ages, of the new system of years thus introduced..... This

astronomy, I cannot form an opinion with respect to the correctness of the conclusions which Mr. Bentley has deduced from astronomical data; but Mr. Colebrooke has remarked: — "The truth is, that the observations of Hindu astronomers were ever extremely coarse and imperfect, and their practice very inferior to their theory of astronomy. An improved theory, or the hint of it, was borrowed from the West; but they did not learn to make correct observations. They were content in practice with a rude approximation..... We are not to try their rules by the test of their agreement with accurate observation at any assignable moment, and thence conclude that the rule and its correct application are contemporaneous. This has always been the point at issue between Mr. Bentley and me. He mentioned in his first essay, that the age of a Hindu astronomical treatise can be so determined with *precision*; I have always contended that their practical astronomy

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will account, not only for the books that now exist being either entirely modern, or else new modelled to correspond with the new order of things, but also for the paucity of ancient facts and observations that have reached our time." — *Hind. Ast.*, p. 106. et seq. The manner in which this destruction or remodelling of all the ancient books, and the composition of new ones, throughout the whole of India, were effected, is thus explained by Mr. Bentley, in p. 108. of the same work: — "To some it would doubtless appear as a thing impossible, that a set of Brahmins in Ujein could impose such a system on the rest of India. Those, however, who are acquainted with the Brahminical character, know too well that every thing was in their power: they were in possession of all the learning in the country, and their influence was so great, that even the princes of the country were obliged to bow submission to their will. Therefore, when they assembled together in convocation, to consult on the general interest of the whole body, whatever resolutions they came to on that head would be universally adopted by the brethren; and woe to the man that should dare oppose them, for their power and influence far exceeded those of the popes in Europe, so that wherever they sent their secret orders, they would be sure to be obeyed." But, with regard to such extravagant and groundless suppositions, it is sufficient to remark, on the authority of Mr. Colebrooke, that Mr. Bentley was unacquainted with Sanscrit, and, therefore, totally incapable of forming any opinion respecting the authenticity or spuriousness of works written in that language. The whole of his hypothesis, at the same time, rests entirely on an assumption which is directly opposed to fact: for the Brahmans in India have never met in general convocation, nor have they ever acted with one common consent; but, on the contrary, the Brahmans of its different provinces have always viewed each other with jealousy, and have never met together except at the courts of princes on some public occasion. It was, therefore, utterly impossible for the Brahmans of Ujein to have effected that revolution in Sanscrit literature which is so elaborately, but so groundlessly, described by Mr. Bentley.

has been too loose and imperfect for the application of that test, except as an *approximation.* In one instance, by the rigorous use of his test, he would have had to pronounce that the work under examination is of *an age yet to come* (1454 years after A. D. 1799): see As. Res., vol. vi. p. 570. To avoid so monstrous an absurdity, he rejected this case, and deduced a mean from the other results, varying from 340 to 1105 years." * But, after this opinion of Mr. Colebrooke, who is so peculiarly qualified for determining any contested point in Sanscrit literature, it must be evident that conclusions founded on Hindu astronomy are not of sufficient certainty or authority to invalidate the incontrovertible testimony of language.

The antiquity and originality, however, of Sanscrit might appear questionable, were this remark of Sir William Jones correct, — "The Sanscrit of the three first Védas (I need not here speak of the fourth), that of the Mánava Dherma Sástra, and that of the Puránas, differ from each other in pretty exact proportion to the Latin of Numa, from whose laws entire sentences are preserved, that of Appius, which we see in the fragment of the Twelve Tables, and that of Cicero, or of Lucretius, where he has not affected an obsolete style."† This opinion is, in part, supported by Mr. Colebrooke, who has observed, — "The ancient dialect in which the Védas are composed, and especially that of the three first, is extremely difficult and obscure: and, though curious, as the parent of a more polished and refined language (the classical Sanscrit), its difficulties must long continue to prevent such an examination of the whole Védas, as would be requisite for extracting all that is remarkable and important in those voluminous works."‡ But, notwithstanding such high authority, I must still entertain doubts respecting the philological correctness of this opinion; for it appears to me that the difficulty and obscurity of the Vedas and Manawa Dharma Shastra proceed from the nature of the subject, and the style adopted in discussing it, and not from the employment of words which

* Asiatic Journal for March 1826, p. 365.
† Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 55.
‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 476.

have become obsolete in modern Sanscrit. The construction, also, and the grammatical rules observed differ perhaps considerably from those which have prevailed since the grammar of the language has been so sedulously cultivated. So far, therefore, Sanscrit may have been polished and refined; but, in words, it no doubt remains identically the same as when it was first introduced into India.

Reasoning, indeed, merely *a priori*, it must seem altogether improbable that a distinct priesthood, whose lives were dedicated to learning and religion, would ever change the language in which their sacred books were written, and which was employed by their order alone. Unless, therefore, it can be proved that Sanscrit was at one time the vernacular tongue of India, no conceivable cause could be assigned for the ancient Sanscrit differing as widely from the modern, as the Latin of Numa from that of Cicero. But, were there the slightest grounds for this assumption, the supposed effects ought to be visible in modern Sanscrit, as in this case it could not possibly exhibit that perfect homogeneity of structure by which it is so peculiarly distinguished. The inspection of a page or two of Cicero will at once show that Latin has not the slightest pretension to originality; but in Sanscrit not an exotic term can be discovered. If, consequently, words have become obsolete, in what manner were new ones invented which accord so accurately with the original structure of the language? Is there, also, a single instance of any body of men discontinuing the words to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, in order to have the pleasure of inventing new ones? But, under this assumption, if the supposed alteration in Sanscrit was not occasioned by external influence, as its internal evidence most clearly proves it was not, these totally improbable circumstances must have actually taken place. It is further necessary to explain how 900 primitive Sanscrit words, still existing in it, could have passed into five distinct languages at least 900 years B. C. These and similar considerations will, perhaps, evince that there are no reasons whatever for supposing that Sanscrit has suffered any essential alteration since it was first introduced into India.

CHAP. XIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

But, if the Sanscrit be as original a language as its internal structure incontrovertibly proves, and if it had received its present form before the time of Homer, as the Sanscrit words in his poems unquestionably attest, it must necessarily follow that it was not from Greek, Latin, Persian, German, and English that Sanscrit received the words belonging to these languages, but that these languages received them from the Sanscrit. Since, also, these words are so numerous, and expressive of such a variety of ideas, it must equally follow that a most intimate connection must have at some remote period existed between the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, and Teutonic race, the Persians, and a people who spoke Sanscrit. It is to account for this remarkable circumstance that all hypotheses respecting the origin and affinity of languages hitherto proposed are totally insufficient; and, consequently, as the causes assigned are inadequate to produce the effects alleged, these hypotheses must now be considered to rest on no foundation whatever.

Mr. Colebrooke, however, has observed that "Sanscrit is a most polished tongue, which was gradually refined, until it became fixed in the classic writings of many elegant poets, most of whom are supposed to have flourished in the century preceding the Christian æra. It is cultivated by learned Hindus throughout India, as the language of science and of literature, and as the repository of their law, civil and religious. It evidently draws its origin (and some steps of its progress may even now be traced) from a primeval tongue, which was gradually refined in various climates, and became Sanscrit in India, Pahlaví in Persia, and Greek on the shores of the Mediterranean."* But that this opinion is clearly erroneous is evident from there not being

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 200.

a Sanscrit word in the Pahlvi vocabulary of Anquetil du Perron; and the poems of Homer, and the fame of preceding poets, equally prove that it was not in Greece that Greek received its wonderful refinement and perfection. As, also, the hymns of the *Thracian* Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in the time of Plato, it seems undeniable that the language, afterwards called Greek, must have then acquired its present form; and, consequently, this question arises, Are there any indications in history, tradition, or affinity of language, which evince that a primeval tongue did actually exist 1200 years B. C., from which Greek and Sanscrit were derived? But it is evidently impossible to answer this question in the affirmative, or to produce any proofs of the prevalence of such a primeval tongue; and the mere supposition, therefore, that it may have existed is not sufficient to disprove the perfect originality of Sanscrit.

To refute general assertions is difficult. But, that this primeval tongue could not be either Hebrew * or Celtic is evident from Sanscrit containing no words that belong to either of these languages. Nor could it have been Persian, which Wachter considers as the proper representative of the Scythian tongue, because in that language there are words which admit of decomposition, and which have cognate terms in Sanscrit only, and the grammatical structure, also, of Sanscrit and Persian is radically dissimilar. Where, then, are the words of this primeval tongue to be found, and, if it be now extinct, how are the words supposed to belong to it and to be still preserved in Sanscrit to be ascertained? For, if the cognate form of all its words, and their

* Even Mr. Townsend appears to find it impossible to identify Hebrew with Sanscrit words; for he observes, — "I might now proceed to examine and trace the affinity between Sanscrit and Hebrew, which are certainly related, although not as sisters, nor as parent and offspring, but for the present I forbear." — *Hist. of Moses*, vol. ii. p. 330. This is unkind; because it must be desirable to ascertain how far *cousinship* may exist among languages.

It would have been prudent, also, if Mr. Townsend had refrained from adducing any examples to show *that a well marked affinity exists between the Sanscrit and the Gothic*: for of fifty-six words which he has given, fourteen are not Sanscrit, and no person can admit the identity of such words as these, — Gaelic, *beatheach*, Sanscrit, *pasu*; G. *dubhatri*, S. *davon* (not Sanscrit); G. *moide*, S. *mahattara*; G. *meall*, S. *mahan*; G. *bacalta*, S. *paka* (paktum?); G. *daighead*, S. *datum*. Hist. of Moses, vol. ii. p. 219, 220.

easy resolution on fixed principles into simpler elements existing in itself, prove not the originality of a language, I know not any other criteria by which this point can be determined. Whoever, therefore, may be inclined to dispute the originality of Sanscrit must prove that these qualities cannot be predicated of it; because, if this postulatum be once admitted, it must necessarily follow that Sanscrit has not been derived from any other language.

Assuming, therefore, this point as proved, it must be further remarked that the only languages in which Sanscrit words exist are the Greek, Latin, Persian, and Gothic, and the vernacular dialects of India. But, as it cannot be denied that the basis of these latter has been derived from some primitive tongue radically dissimilar from Sanscrit, and as the structure and grammatical system of Persian prove it to be a distinct language, it seems evident that Sanscrit words could not have passed into Greek, Latin, and Gothic, after the people who originally spoke Sanscrit had established themselves in India. The particular part, however, of the world which this people may have at first inhabited is of no importance, because, wherever it may be placed, the philological conclusions contained in this work would not be affected by this circumstance. If, therefore, it be not admitted that Babylonia was the original seat of the Sanscrit language and the Sanscrit literature; the reader may select any other country from which he considers it more probable that 900 Sanscrit words could have passed into the Greek, Latin, Persian, and Gothic languages. But, as it can scarcely be contested that the Thracians, who migrated from Asia Minor and occupied the country which extended from Macedonia to the Euxine Sea along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Hellespont, and the Thracian Bosphorus, were the ancestors of the Grecian and Gothic people; and that it was colonies from Asia Minor who communicated their language to Latium and Hetruria; it must seem most probable that Asia Minor received the Sanscrit language from a conterminous and not from a distant country.

On this subject it is difficult to understand the opinions of the German literati who have written on the affinity of languages. For

the earlier authors, adopting the usual interpretation of the Mosaic history, considered Armenia to have been the country which was first inhabited after the deluge; but Adelung and other writers contend that it was the high land of Middle Asia. In the last of which cases the miracle which occasioned the confusion of languages is, if not expressly, at least virtually denied; because it seems impossible that a migration from Thibet to the plain of Shinar could have taken place in the period which Moses states to have elapsed from the deluge to the building of the tower of Babel. But, if the world were peopled from Middle Asia, a primitive tongue must have existed, and, consequently, as its complete extinction is highly improbable, traces of it ought to be found in all known languages. Adelung, however, observes in his preface, — "I have no favourite idea, no hypothesis to establish, and I merely state what is and how it is, without concerning myself with what it might or should have been. I derive not all languages from one; Noah's ark is a closed castle to me, and for me the tower of Babel may remain in perfect peace." *

M. Klaproth, also, disclaims the intention of deriving all languages from one primitive tongue; but he makes these singular remarks: — "The wide dispersion of the Indo-Germanic † race took place probably before the flood of Noah: besides, it is the only Asiatic one which appears to have descended after that event from two high mountains; namely, from the Himalaya into India and Middle Asia, and on the west from the Kaukasus into Asia Minor and Europe. In India this race mixed itself much with the dark-coloured aborigines, and, though its speech predominated, its physical characteristics were deteriorated; as has ever been the case when a mixture has taken place between a white and black or brown race; when the physical qualities of the latter, and the moral qualities of each undergo an inevitable change. The brown or negro-like aborigines of India

* Adelung's Mithridates, preface, p. xi.

† Under this name M. Klaproth includes Indians, Persians, Afghans, Kurds, Medes, Ossetes, Armenians, Slavonians, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, English, Greeks, Romans, and all the people who speak a language derived from Latin.

probably saved themselves, during the flood of Noah, on the high mountains of Malabar and the Ghauts.* In the dialects of the southern parts of India there appears to be a number of roots and words received from the aborigines, and some remains of such words may perhaps be found among the wild mountain-people in the northern parts..... From Kaukasus another branch of this stem seems to have descended upon the banks of the Caspian Sea, and proceeded into Media; and thence peopled Persia. Afterwards they probably migrated into Asia Minor, and first into southern, and then into northern Europe." †

But, if the Mosaic history be set aside, it is perfectly evident that all speculations respecting the original peopling of the world can rest on no foundation whatever; for the first dawning of profane tradition and history is scarcely discernible earlier than 1200 or 1300 years B. C. It is impossible, therefore, to determine what may have been the previous state of the world, or to ascertain the origin of the languages which then prevailed: but, judging from their internal evidence, it seems indisputable that neither Greek, Latin, nor Gothic are original tongues, and, consequently, other languages must have previously existed from which they were formed. One of these is discoverable in Sanscrit, from which one seventh of the primitive words of Greek, Latin, and Gothic have been derived, but whence did the remaining six sevenths originate? It is the same with most other languages; for it is now impossible to ascertain the source from which Hebrew and Arabic have received the words not common to both, or the Teutonic dialects the words which are found in one and not in all of them. In the course, also, of these Researches, it has equally appeared that the Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Tartar, and Celtic are original and distinct languages which bear no relation to each other. It seems, therefore, necessarily to follow that no traces of the existence of a primitive tongue can now be discovered, and that *all* languages

* So in the original, but M. Klaproth might have known that the Ghauts were the same as the mountains of Malabar.

† Asia Polyglotta, p. 43, 44.

bear not an affinity to each other, and, consequently, that the people who originally spoke them could not possibly be all branches of one and the same stem. Conclusions which are so strongly supported by geography, chronology, and history that they cannot be invalidated by mere conjectures, which pretend not to rest on any other grounds than the imagination of the system-maker.

If, however, these observations be correct, it must be admitted that the filiation of languages has been hitherto misunderstood; and that their classification, in consequence, must have been equally erroneous. On this last point the reviewer of Adelung's Mithridates, in the Quarterly Review *, observes, — "It appears to be most convenient to consider as separate languages, or as distinct species in a systematic classification, all those which require to be separately studied in order to be readily understood, and which have their distinct grammatical flexions and constructions; and to regard as varieties only those dialects which are confessedly local and partial varieties of a language manifestly identical..... In order, however, to avoid too great a number of classes, which would arise from an inadequate comparison of languages imperfectly known, it may be proper in some cases to adopt a geographical character, as sufficient to define the limits of a class, or its subdivision into orders. We are thus obliged to employ an arrangement of a mixed nature, and this is what Professor Adelung has actually done." † But the reviewer admits that a perfect natural order of arrangement of languages ought to be regulated by their descent from each other, and by their affinities; and, no doubt, this is the only proper manner of rendering their filiation and relation to each other satisfactorily apparent.

In which case the arranging under the term INDO-EUROPEAN *Sanscrit, Median, Arabian, Greek, German, Celtic, Latin, Cantabrian, Celtic, Slavic,* must not only be erroneous, but must tend to create error and

* I am particularly induced to notice this article, in consequence of its having been transferred in great part into the fifth volume of the supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica under the title "Language."

† Quarterly Review, vol. x. p. 252.

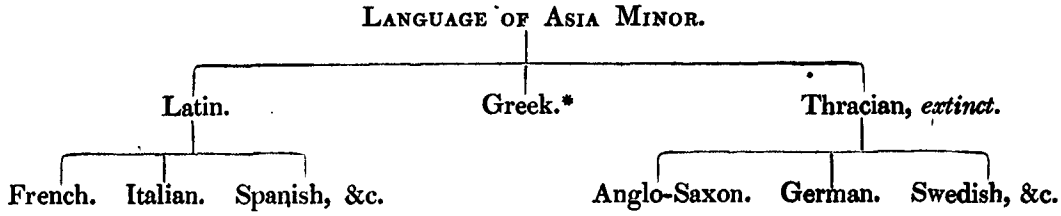
confusion: for there is no such language as Median; and Sanscrit, Arabic, and Celtic bear not the slightest relation, even geographical, to each other. The subdivisions of the reviewer are equally objectionable: because to place so well known and so long cultivated a language as *Persian* under such an unknown term as *Median* is contrary to every principle; and equally so to place the vernacular dialects of India* under the head of Sanscrit, as they are neither derived from it, nor have in their structure any affinity with it. But, in all classification of languages, the principal object ought to be the conducting the mind with correctness and facility from a consideration of the primitive to that of its derivatives; or, if the parent tongue be extinct, by still assigning it a place, in order that the relation which its descendants bear to each other may be perfectly apparent. In the annexed Table, therefore, the propriety of the arrangement will, perhaps, be obvious; for the languages contained in it are classed according to their actual affinities, and not according to any geographical or hypothetical system. It cannot, also, be denied that, although an acquaintance with any one of these languages does not command the knowledge of another, still a conversancy with Latin will greatly facilitate the acquisition of Sanscrit, and an Englishman will learn German with more ease than an Italian, while the latter (were they to study Latin as men) would no doubt acquire this language with much greater facility than the Englishman. But a knowledge of Sanscrit, Latin, or English would be of no utility in facilitating the acquisition of Celtic, Arabic, or Persian. Languages, therefore, so totally distinct from each other ought never to be included in the same class, as such an arrangement merely tends to perplex, and not to facilitate a consideration of the subject.

* To include Moors (Hindustani) among these dialects is still more extraordinary: for Adelung has very correctly observed that the *Mongol-Indostani*, or *Moorish*, is a mixture of the vernacular dialect of Agra and Delhi with Persian and Arabic; and, consequently, such a jargon has no right to a place in a classification of languages and their subdivisions.

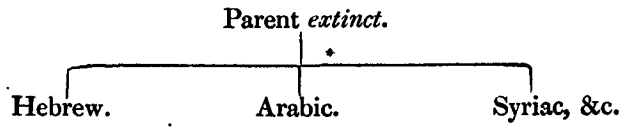
The Deccan, also, of the reviewer is a jargon composed of Telinga, Canara, Maratha, Arabic, and Persian, occasionally used, I believe, in the province of Beejapore only, and probably invented by the foreign soldiery of the Bhamani and Adil Shahi dynasties.

FILIATION OF LANGUAGES.

BABYLONIAN, OR SANSCRIT.



SYRIA AND ARABIA.



DISTINCT LANGUAGES WITHOUT AFFINITIES.

Persian in Asia. Celtic in Europe.

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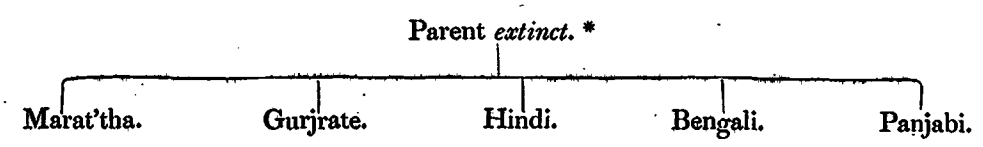
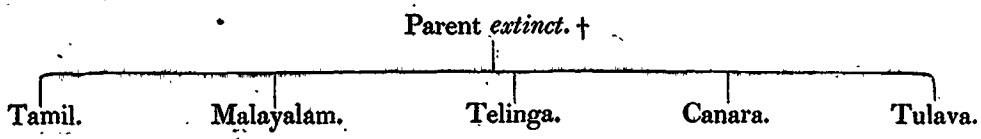
* I consider Greek to be the same as the language of Asia Minor, see Chapter VII., but the above arrangement is necessary on account of the difference which exists between Greek and the Latin and Thracian.

INDIA.

NORTH OF THE RIVER KRISHNA.



SOUTH OF THE RIVER KRISHNA.



In this article of the Quarterly Review, every philological error which it is the object of these Researches to refute seems to have been collected together with a singular precision. For the reviewer observes, — "The INDO-EUROPEAN languages we have referred to a single class, because every one of them has too great a number of coincidences with some of the others, to be considered as merely accidental, and many of them in terms relating to objects of such a nature, that they must have been rather original than adoptive. The Sanscrit, which is confessedly the parent language of India, may easily be shown to be intimately connected with the Greek, Latin, and the German, although it is a great exaggeration to assert any thing like its identity with either of these languages." If the

* If a name be required for this language, it may be called that of Kanyakubja or Kanoge.

† This language might be called Andhra, as there seems no doubt that the Telinga, or Telugu, approaches the nearest to the parent tongue; and the use of the Sanscrit word would leave the vernacular term as the distinctive appellation of the Telinga dialect.

term *identical* be here used in its strict sense, I am not aware that any writer ever expressed such an opinion, or ever contended for more than what the reviewer himself admits. But the slightest knowledge of Sanscrit and the vernacular dialects of India would have prevented Adelung from hazarding such a remark as this, and the reviewer from so implicitly adopting it,—"The Sanscrit, even in its earliest state, can scarcely have been altogether uniform throughout all the countries in which it was spoken, and it has degenerated by degrees into a great diversity of modern dialects." * Such, however, is invariably the consequence of a writer of reputation discussing a subject with which he is unacquainted; for, however erroneous may be the opinions respecting it which he expresses, they are certain of being adopted by other persons: but the reviewer might have been aware that there were not at the time when Adelung wrote, nor are there even now, materials before the public sufficient to enable the most ingenious and best qualified philologist to form a correct judgment of the languages of India, if he be himself actually unacquainted with them.

It would, however, be a tedious repetition of preceding remarks, were I to notice all the errors which are, in my opinion, contained in this article; and I find it impossible to ascertain any leading principles by which the reviewer's classification of languages, or his observations respecting their origin, have been regulated. For he adopts none of the hypotheses before discussed, nor does he substitute any new system in their place; but he concurs in opinion with Adelung, that "Greek can only have been immediately derived from the language of the neighbouring Thracians and Pelasgians, who seem to have come originally from the middle of Asia through the countries

* Experience proves, on the contrary, that as mankind unite into larger bodies, the dialects of different tribes become amalgamated into one uniform language, and no instance can be produced of an improved language degenerating *of itself* into a number of dialects. Foreign influence, as in the case of Latin, or the subsequent division of a people once thus united into distinct and independent communities or states, may effect this, but nothing else will ever occasion such a change.

north of the Black Sea, and to have occupied part of Asia Minor as well as Greece and Thrace." He also thinks that "with the German it is easy to find a number of very near approaches to identity, even in the Celtic which can be proved to be prior to the date of any known or supposed mixture;" and that the Latin is too evidently derived from the Celtic mixed with Greek, to require particular comparison. He likewise, with Adelung, considers the Thracians to be a distinct people from the Germans; and the reviewer seems even to suppose that the Germans and Goths were different people.

But, if the assumption of Adelung that the world was peopled from Middle Asia be unfounded, it must necessarily follow that all opinions respecting the origin of nations and their languages, which depend on this assumption alone, must be equally groundless. There exists not, however, the slightest indication in any ancient author that the earlier races of mankind had ever occupied Middle Asia; and, had this been the actual case, it seems impossible that no fabulous or traditionary recollections of such a memorable circumstance should have been preserved, and that, on the contrary, the very existence of this country should have been unknown to the earliest writers. This assumption, also, rests on another assumption, for Adelung is obliged to argue in this manner: — "That all these principal races possessed peculiar languages distinct from each other is at once evinced by comparing their remains together. Besides, theory and experience prove that every language is so changed, according to the extent of time and space, that at their extreme limits new languages spontaneously form themselves out of it. For it is a fact attested by nature, as far as this earth is known, that one single language cannot predominate in a part of the world which is 150,000 miles square. In remote antiquity, also, mankind was divided into a number of independent tribes, who, from natural incompatibility, avoided all intercourse and connection; and, consequently, a greater difference would have taken place in their languages and dialects than if they had been united into larger bodies. It is, therefore, easy to evince that the Iberian, the Celtic, the German, the Thracian, the Slavonian,

and the Finnish were formerly, that is, at the commencement of our history, as distinct languages as their daughters are at the present day." *

But this reasoning is evidently erroneous; for experience proves that languages do not spontaneously form themselves, nor does a people change its mother tongue unless compelled to do so by foreign influence. From the time, therefore, that a language is once formed it will continue essentially the same, as long as the people speaking it remain the same; and neither space nor time would of themselves occasion any alteration. The Greek was certainly not indigenous to Greece; and yet, from the time of Thamyras and Orpheus to the capture of Constantinople, during the course of 2500 years, and during all the vicissitudes of so long an interval, it remained in every respect the same language. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, and pure Celtic are in essentially the same state at the present day as they were 3000 years ago. If, therefore, mankind be the descendants of Noah and his sons, and if they originally inhabited Middle Asia, they must have all originally spoken the same language; and, consequently, if the world were peopled by migrations from that country, the colonists, however they might have improved the parent tongue by the invention of new terms to express new ideas, could not possibly have had any motive for changing the language to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, and by means of which alone they could have made themselves intelligible to each other. On this supposition, also, in no part of the world were there any aborigines, whose speech might have exerted an influence over that of the immigrants and hence, as no conceivable cause can be assigned which could have produced any alteration in it, undeniable traces of this primitive tongue ought to be found, even at this day, in all known languages. But, as no identical terms can be found in Sanscrit, Arabic, Celtic, the dialects of Tartary, and, perhaps, other tongues, and as it is altogether unsupported by tradition and history, it must necessarily follow that

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 7.

the hypothesis of Adelung, and his account of the origin of nations and languages, rest on no grounds whatever.

The affinities, also, ascribed by the reviewer to Celtic, have been, perhaps, sufficiently disproved in a former part of this work: but it is singular that a professed critic should quote Cour de Gebelin as authority on this subject; for his identifications of Celtic words with those of other languages err against every principle of etymology, and deserve, therefore, the censure and not the approbation of criticism. It would, however, have been very desirable, had the reviewer explained where that Celtic was to be found, which was *prior to the date of any known or supposed mixture* with Gothic and Latin; because the difficulty of forming a decisive opinion respecting the affinities of this language, proceeds entirely from the great number of apparently exotic words which it contains. For, if it could be proved that the Gothic and Latin words that now abound in it were originally Celtic, it must be at once admitted that it was from this language that Latin and the Teutonic dialects derived their origin: but, until this is satisfactorily established, it must be concluded that conquest and the introduction of a new religion exerted the same influence in Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, that they have done in every other part of the world; and, consequently, that the Gothic and Latin words now found in Celtic are exotic and not original. *

The reviewer's opinion respecting the Arabian family is equally inaccurate. For he remarks that, "though not intimately connected with the European languages, it is well known to have afforded some

* The author of the *Vindication of the Celts*, however, asserts, in p. 57., "that the Welsh contains above 20,000 words similar to the Greek," and gives as examples such words as these: — W. ambylu, G. αμβλυνω; W. dagru, G. δακρυω; W. deuddeg, G. δωδεκα; W. dianghelu, G. διαγγελλω; W. dyddyscu, G. διδασκω; W. garan, G. γερανος; W. haredd, G. αἱρεσις; W. llaith, G. ληθη; W. mel, G. μελι; W. genad, G. γενετη. But he does not mention whether these words are in common use or not; and the mere inspection of the examples given by this writer is sufficient to evince that they are not such primitive words as might have remained in any two languages derived from a common origin, but evidently such as were likely to be communicated by the missionaries of a new religion, who were obliged to remedy the defects of the vernacular tongue by the introduction of numerous foreign terms.

few words to the Greek and Latin: and it has, also, some terms in common with the Sanscrit *, though apparently fewer than German." But the latter part of this remark is altogether erroneous; and the former is equally so, unless such etymologies as these are admitted as proofs in support of it: — Hebrew, ebas, *saginavit*; Greek, ἐοσκω; Latin, pasco: H. ebek, *pulvis*; G. πυγμη: H. ahab, *amavit*; G. αγαπαω: Arabic, silf, *coaffinis*; G. ἀδελφος: H. nir, *lux*; G. λειριον: H. arab, *insidiatus est*, G. ἁρπαζω: H. ael, *cervus*; G. ελαφος: H. azen, *auscultavit*; G. ουας: H. butz, *byssus*; G. αλαβαστρον: H. bor, *arsit*; G. ἑηυλλος: H. shekar, *mentitus est*; L. scurra; H. shehad, *testis*; L. testis: H. tsar, *latus*; L. tessera: H. sherat, *ministerium*; L. sartago: H. lahat, *flamma*; L. laterna: H. lehab, *flamma*; L. lampas: H. ebeh, *densus fuit*; L. opacus: H. aneb, *uva*; L. uva: H. ezar, *juvit*; L. uxor: H. tur, *explanavit*; L. tiro. †

According to either the Scythian, the Celtic, or the Gothic hypothesis, no difficulty presents itself in accounting for the original peopling of Germany; but the supposition of Adelung, adopted by his reviewer, that this country was first occupied at some remote period by emigrants from Middle Asia, is much too improbable to be admitted. For it is impossible to read the description of the state of Germany in the first century of the Christian era, as given by Tacitus, without being convinced that this country had been but recently peopled, and that its inhabitants had no pretensions to that remote antiquity which is ascribed to them by Adelung. "Terra," says that celebrated historian, "etsi aliquando specie differt, in universum tamen aut sylvis horrida aut paludibus fœda: humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit: satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fœcunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis

* The examples given by the reviewer are, Chaldaic, *bar*, city; Sanscrit, *bara*, *buri* (there is no such Sanscrit word as this, but it may be intended for *puri*); German, *burg*: Hebrew, *ben*, son; Sanscrit, *bun* (this word is not Sanscrit), child: Hebrew, *esh*; Chaldaic, *eshta*, fire; Sanscrit, *aster* (not Sanscrit): Hebrew, *ish*, man; Sanscrit, *isha*, man or lord (this word never signifies man in Sanscrit).

† These few examples, which might have been greatly increased, are taken from Townsend's *History of Moses*, and Cour de Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*.

quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis, numero gaudent, eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint, dubito..... Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes..... Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut si desit, spina, consertum; cætera intecti, totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt."

Probability, however, and consonancy with the indications afforded by history, tradition, affinity of language, or even geographical position, are restrictions much too inconvenient to be in the slightest degree regarded by the framers or supporters of a hypothesis. For the following is the manner in which Adelung explains the system which he maintains: — "Europe is indebted for its inhabitants to Asia; for Middle Asia was the ancient and abundant nursery of mankind, from which the northern parts of Asia, Europe, and America were peopled: but Africa seems to have received its inhabitants from the south-west of Asia. It is, also, probable that migration proceeded by land, as this was the mode which nature herself pointed out; as it was not until a very late period that navigation acquired that perfection which could have induced the different tribes, with their families and herds, to trust themselves to so perilous an element as the sea. These migrations, however, lie deeply concealed in the darkness of antiquity, but many circumstances render them apparent; since, at the commencement of history, the whole of Europe from the Don to the Tagus was occupied by people different in race and language, in consequence of the great intermixtures and revolutions which they had undergone. But among them we find six principal races, distinguished from each other by their origin * and their languages, which possessed Europe from west to east in the following order: — 1. Iberians with the Cantabrians in Spain, part of Gaul, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean as far as Italy. 2. Celts in Gaul, the British Isles, the country between the Danube and the Alps, and part of Italy. 3. Germans between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Vistula, as far as the remotest

* So in the original, *herkunft*; but, if they all originally migrated from Middle Asia, their origin must have been the same.

parts of the north. 4. Thracians with the Illyrians in the south-east of Europe and Western Asia. 5. Slaves in the north, and, 6. Finns in the north-east of Europe. In this order was Europe first occupied by these races, and in this manner did a continual accession of numbers and a successive impulse from the east propel the first occupants towards the west, until natural boundaries prevented all further retrogression; and these races finally and permanently retained the countries which I have just described, and in which their descendants are, in a great measure, to be found at the present day." *

But this system, as far as it relates to the Germans, is a once refuted by the undeniable fact that German, even in its most ancient state, is not an original language, and, consequently, the Germans cannot be admitted to be a primitive and unmixed race. It is in vain that Adelung contends that, "if we consider all the people who inhabit the country situated within the above-mentioned limits (viz. from the Danube on the south to the farthest north, and from the Rhine on the west to the Vistula on the east) as one whole, we must decide that they are a primitive and self-existing race, perfectly distinct from all their neighbours..... That these people should originally have been connected with other ancient and more distant people is apparent from the very nature of things, and is also proved by identical terms which still remain in their languages; but the time of this remote connection lies so far beyond the confines of history, and so deeply concealed in the darkness of their original abode in Asia, that neither philologist nor antiquarian can make any further use of this circumstance, than to demonstrate the common origin of the Germans and the people in whose languages identical terms are found." † For, if the cause which has produced the common words found in any two languages is to be referred to the original abode of the people speaking them in Middle Asia, it must be evident that this system becomes identical with the old hypothesis which maintains the existence of a primitive tongue, and that Adelung's division of the people of

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 3, 4.
† Ibid., p. 168.

Europe into six races, distinct in origin and language, contradicts the fundamental principle of his own system.

Adelung's account of the Thracians is equally inadmissible; for he remarks, — "There is no doubt but that this race, as well as all the other people of Europe, migrated from the high land of Middle Asia. But their migration must have been one of the last, as we find them situated in the eastern parts; although, also, it took place before the commencement of history, still there appear to have been two roads by which the emigrants might have proceeded, one to the north and the other to the south of the Black Sea. The latter seems the nearest and most natural, as there was merely the Hellespont to pass over: but, when one considers that the Thracians were always weak in Asia Minor, and on the contrary were numerous and powerful in Europe, and that the time when the latter migrated from Asia was unknown, and that Homer frequently mentions the Thracians of Europe, it must appear most probable that, when they migrated, it was to the north of the Black Sea that they proceeded from Middle Asia to the Danube." * But it is obvious that this supposition is in direct contradiction to history, both sacred and profane: for, if any point of remote antiquity seems indisputable, it is that the peopling of Europe proceeded from Asia Minor; and, most particularly, the very part which the Thracians first occupied most clearly proves that they could have migrated from no other country than Asia Minor. It is in this respect that the absurdity of Adelung's system becomes so self-evident. Because, had he conducted his emigrants from the high land of Middle Asia through India, Persia, and Asia Minor, across the Hellespont and Thracian Bosphorus into Europe, his system would at least have had plausibility to recommend it, and it might, also, have been in part supported by the Sanscrit words contained in Greek, Latin, Persian, and Gothic. But the slightest inspection of a map will show how utterly improbable it is that, in the early state of the world, when, except in the countries just mentioned, the earth was uncultivated, covered with forests and morasses, and traversed by deep and

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 340.

impassable rivers, any bodies of men could possibly have migrated through the countries lying to the north of the Caspian and Euxine Seas, from Thibet to the Danube.

No point, also, is better established by the concurrent testimony of ancient and modern writers, than that the Goths were not the descendants of the Germans. But Adelung includes them among the Germans, and observes, — "Amongst the ancient and now extinct people who belonged to this race, the Goths were the most eastern and the most renowned; but they incorporated with themselves a multitude of other people of distinct races and languages. It seems probable, however, that they are the only ancient German people of whose language any written monument has been preserved; as we have important remains of it in Ulphilas's translation of the Bible." * Whether, however, the Goths are considered to have been originally Scythians or Scandinavians, or, as I think most probable, Thracians, it is undeniable that, though the Germans may have descended from them, they cannot be admitted to be the descendants of the Germans, unless every circumstance which constitutes historical evidence be entirely disregarded.

When, therefore, the inconsistencies and contradictions which are so evident in the hypotheses that have been examined in this work, and their inadequacy to explain the origin and affinity of languages, are considered, it will, perhaps, be admitted that not one of them rests on any sufficient grounds. But, if the cause of the striking coincidences which exist in some languages proceeds not from the prevalence among mankind, at some period in remote antiquity, of a primitive tongue, into which supposition all these hypotheses actually resolve themselves, it must necessarily follow that the principle on which such researches have been hitherto conducted is erroneous. The contempt, also, with which etymology is treated, and the apparent conviction which prevails that the result of etymological disquisitions can never amount to presumption, far less to evidence, must be received as strong proofs that the methods hitherto adopted in the

* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 183.

investigation of the affinities of languages have been not only inefficient but ridiculous. Still, it is admitted that the origin and affinity of nations may be satisfactorily demonstrated by affinity of language. Dr. Young, likewise, in an Essay on Probabilities, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, " has remarked that ' nothing whatever could be inferred, with respect to the relation of two languages, from the coincidence of the sense of any single word in both of them;' that is, supposing the same simple and limited combinations of sounds to occur in both, but to be applied accidentally to the same number of objects, without any common links of connection: ' and that the odds would only be three to one against the agreement of two words; but, if three words appeared to be identical, it would be more than ten to one that they must be derived, in both cases, from some parent language, or introduced in some other manner,' from a common source; ' six words would give near 1700 chances to one, and eight near 100,000;' so that in these last cases the evidence would be little short of absolute certainty." *

On these principles, consequently, the existence of 339 Sanscrit words in Greek, 319 in Latin, 263 in Persian, 162 in German, 251 in English, and 31 in all of them, must incontrovertibly prove that these languages must have been derived from a common origin. But I have, no doubt, evinced that Sanscrit is a perfectly original tongue, and not derived from any other; and that, though Persian has received many words from Sanscrit, still its dissimilarity in grammatical structure disproves its derivation from it, and renders it a distinct language. There hence remains only Greek, Latin, German, and English, which can be considered as derivatives from Sanscrit; but the two latter spring evidently from one origin. It is equally evident that the affinity of these six languages could not have existed, had not an intimate connection subsisted at some period among the different people who spoke them; and I have, perhaps, sufficiently proved that these languages bear no relation whatever to

* I take this quotation from the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. v. p. 222.

Celtic, Arabic, or the dialects of Tartary. But, when these people first became known to history, they inhabited India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany; and innumerable circumstances evince that no intercourse between them could have prevailed for many centuries previously. Unless, therefore, the common origin of such widely separated people, and the distinctness of their race from that of the nations who surrounded them, are satisfactorily demonstrated, and unless the incidents of their separation, and of the changes introduced into their parent tongue, are explained in a perfectly consistent manner, the fallaciousness of any hypothesis respecting their origin and affinity must be self-evident.

But, in all the systems on the subject hitherto proposed, the most material part of the question, the existence of Sanscrit in Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Persian, has not been taken into consideration, and, consequently, the real relation which these languages bear to each other could not be understood. It now, however, appears that the affinity which was supposed to exist between them was no proof that any one of them was derived from another; because this affinity proceeds from their derivation from, or connection with, Sanscrit, in which language most of the words common to Greek and Latin, or to Gothic and Persian, can still be discovered. Gothic, therefore, was not derived from Persian, according to the Scythian hypothesis, a supposition, at the same time, which is completely disproved by the radical dissimilarity of the two languages in words, except such as are derived from Sanscrit, and in grammatical structure; nor has Persian any further affinity with Greek and Latin. It hence necessarily follows that the people who spoke Sanscrit must have inhabited a country situated between Persia and Europe. But the concurrent authority of ancient writers attests that Latium and Hetruria received their language from Asia Minor; and I have, perhaps, shown by philological arguments that Latin is not derived from Greek. The extreme similarity, however, of the two languages equally proves that the ancestors of the Greeks and Latins must have been originally the same people, and, consequently, that they must have originally inhabited Asia Minor.

That Greek, also, was actually the language of this country seems proved by many circumstances, which I have stated in the Seventh Chapter; and, therefore, as the first poets who employed this language were Thracians, it irresistibly follows that the Thracians, also, originally inhabited Asia Minor, and were the very same people as the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans. Nor can their migration from Asia Minor, and their subsequent occupation of the country which extended from Macedonia along the Hellespont to the Euxine Sea, and thence to the shores of the Baltic, be disputed on any grounds which do not at the same time contradict both probability and history. Admit, therefore, that Babylonia was the primeval seat of the Sanscrit tongue, and that from this country Asia Minor derived its language, which was thence communicated by the Pelasgi to Thracia, Greece, Latium, and Hetruria, and that a colony from Babylonia once exercised a predominating influence in Persia; and the origin and affinity of Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and Gothic are thus explained in a manner the most consistent and probable, and the most consonant with all indications respecting remote antiquity which are afforded by geography, chronology, and history.

But these conclusions explain not the origin of the languages to which these six bear no affinity, nor even of, perhaps, six sevenths of the simple words of the language of Asia Minor. To evince, however, this very circumstance is one of the objects of this work; because it appears to me that as long as the existence of a primitive tongue, whether the Hebrew, the Scythian, the Celtic, the Gothic, or that of Middle Asia *, continues a received opinion, no beneficial

* I have not taken any notice of the system of Cour de Gebelin, which he explains, Monde Primitif, tom. viii. p. xiv., in these words,—" Qu'ainsi il n'existe qu'une langue, une langue éternelle et immuable puisée dans la nature raisonnable, et dont les hommes n'ont jamais pu se détourner: que par conséquent toutes les langues existantes ne sont que des modifications de cette langue universelle, à laquelle il est aisé de les ramener, en les comparant entr'elles et avec elle:" because I must confess that it is completely beyond my comprehension. As the reader, however, may be more successful in understanding it, I transcribe the following passage: — " En effet, *le raport des langues ne consiste pas* simplement dans la ressemblance de leurs mots, *dans cette ressemblance qui se reconnoît par les mêmes lettres et par le même sens*, et qui a lieu pour la masse des mots de deux langues

result can possibly be derived from etymological researches. Adelung, in the Preface to his Mithridates, professes to describe merely *what is and how it is*; and, had he restricted himself to such disquisitions, the value of his work would have been greatly increased: but man can never be contented with an account of things as they actually exist, and have existed from a certain known time, but wishes, in order to discover their hidden origin, to penetrate into the remotest and darkest secrets of nature. With respect, however, to languages, this wish is obviously vain: for the origin of nations cannot be ascertained by the means of history; and the most laborious etymological researches will merely render evident that all languages cannot possibly be derived from one primitive tongue, and, consequently, that all the various races of mankind now existing cannot have descended from one common parent.* If, therefore, the etymologist persist in compelling all languages to depose to an identity which does not exist, it must be obvious that the result of such etymological tortures must exhibit such an appearance of improbability and contradiction to common sense, as to render it totally undeserving of attention: but, if he confine himself merely to tracing the real affinities of languages, he will be enabled to elucidate at least the origin of some of the people of this world; and, by a continuation of researches conducted on the same plan, the affinity, if not the actual origin, of all nations might at length be demonstrated with the utmost certainty.

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semblables..... C'est un raport beaucoup plus étendu, plus vague, moins caractérisé, qui exige de tout autres yeux pour être saisi, qui ne peut être que le résultat d'un très-grand nombre de comparaisons, qui ne considère pas les mots un à un, mais par grandes masses; non les individus, mais les espèces," &c. — *Monde Primitif*, tom. iii. p. 273.

* I ought to add, unless the miracle which occasioned the total confusion of tongues be admitted; because, in that case, the radical diversity of languages would be no argument against the authenticity of the Mosaic history.

PART II.

N.B. In Oriental words written in Roman characters, the vowels and diphthongs are to be pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as in English; with exception of *g*, which is always to be pronounced hard, its soft sound being represented by *j*.

PART II.

GRAMMATICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

I AM perfectly aware of the ridicule to which etymologists, in general, so deservedly expose themselves: but, as it is universally admitted that the filiation of the different races of mankind, at those early periods of the world respecting which history is silent, may be satisfactorily determined by affinity of language, the extravagancies of etymologists ought not to prove prejudicial to researches of so much importance, if conducted on self-evident principles. For, if two words of distinct languages, similar or nearly similar in sound, bear precisely the same signification, the identity of such words cannot with any reason be disputed. Should, also, their meanings be not the same, but the difference consist merely in one of the significations being such as might arise from a natural connection of ideas, and the sound of the words be at the same time similar, little doubt can exist with regard to their identity. For instance, the Sanscrit *kŭmam* a lake and κυμα a wave, *stoma* the head and στομα the mouth, *bălăm* an army and *bellum* war, or even *māra* killing and *mār* a snake, are clearly identical terms. As long, therefore, as the etymologist confines his identification of words to those only which agree in sound and meaning, he proceeds on the surest grounds; and, for judging of the justness of his conclusions, nothing farther is necessary, than the mere inspection of the words of the different languages which he compares together. The person who is acquainted and he who is unacquainted with the languages compared,

are equally capable of observing coincidences of so plain and evident a nature. It is by these simple principles, which seem to me incontrovertible, that I have been guided in selecting the words contained in the following Table; I have in no instance identified such words as *soma* the moon with σωμα the body, or *suria* the sun with *sura* the leg, and I have even abstained from producing any words, the identification of which could not have been rendered apparent without entering into grammatical and etymological discussions.

Sir W. Jones has observed, — "I beg leave as a philologist to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for another, and in totally disregarding the vowels." * To the general justness of this remark I fully subscribe; but the slightest attention to the dialects of the Greek language, and to the *patois* of any country, will at once evince that the identity and intelligibility of words do not depend on the manner in which the vowels contained in them are pronounced. No doubt the identity of the words of any two languages which may be compared together, will be most satisfactorily established by the identity or close similarity of the vowels; but, if when the vowels are most dissimilar the meaning is exactly the same, it may be reasonably inferred that the words also are identical. For instance, it will scarcely be maintained that *mira* and *mare* are not identical terms, since they both signify the sea; *gălă* and *gula*, both signifying the throat; and *okam* and οικος, both signifying a house. As, also, no two nations ever possessed alphabetical and grammatical systems precisely the same, it must be obvious that words could not pass from the one into the other without undergoing some change in their consonants. Were, indeed, the identity of no words to be admitted, except of such as exactly corresponded in their vowels and consonants, the etymologist might at once cease his labours, for very few such words can be found.

But Sir W. Jones himself has observed, — "We know, *a posteriori*,

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 139.

that both *fitz* and *hijo*, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*; and *stranger* from *extra*; that *jour* is deducible, through the Italian, from *dies*; and *rossignol* from *luscinia*, or *the singer in groves*; that *sciuro*, *écureuil*, and *squirrel* are compounded of two Greek words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated *a priori*, might serve to confirm, if any confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great empire." * If the term *a priori* is here used in its strict sense, this remark is self-evident; for, until words had passed from one language into another, and suffered certain changes in consequence, it would have been impossible to know either that such changes would have been found necessary, or to specify their precise nature. But, after they had once taken place, nothing could be easier than the ascertaining the permutations which the component letters of the particular words had undergone, and whether these changes had proceeded on any fixed principle: for, in this case, it might be justly inferred that in similar circumstances similar permutations would always take place; and it is only by adhering to this rule that etymologies can ever be discovered or demonstrated. But, if it be shown that in words passing from any one language into another certain letters are always changed into others, and this postulatum be once admitted, it necessarily follows that, however dissimilar in sound the words compared may be, still, if the received principle applies to them, their identity cannot be disputed. The error, therefore, which etymologists commit, consists not in the permutation of letters, but in changing them arbitrarily, and without having first established that the permutations which they propose are sanctioned by the usage and genius of the languages compared.

In comparing, however, Sanscrit with other languages, I have not been obliged to have recourse to such questionable etymologies as those pointed out by Sir W. Jones; for the only permutation of letters which becomes requisite, is occasioned by the Greek and

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 20.

Roman alphabets being defective in several letters peculiar to the Sanscrit alphabet. But, that many words of which these letters form component parts have passed into Greek and Latin, is demonstrated by these words retaining precisely the same signification. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ascertain, by a consideration of the alphabetical systems and grammatical structure of the languages compared together in the following Table, how far difference of sound ought to affect the identity of words, the meaning of which is precisely or nearly similar.

ALPHABETICAL SYSTEM.

THE Sanscrit alphabet consists of fifty-two letters, but only twenty-two distinct sounds; the remaining twenty-eight letters being merely aspirations and modifications of these sounds.* To express, however, Sanscrit words in another language, it is indispensable that its alphabet should at least contain the following letters:—

a, e, i, o, u, k, g hard, ch soft, j soft, t, d, n, p, l, m, y consonant, r, l, w or v, sh, s, h.

With respect to the sounds of these letters in Sanscrit, it may be observed that the vowels are pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as in English †; with the exception that *g* must be always pronounced hard, its soft sound being represented by *j*. It must

* The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*, have distinct characters for their long and short sounds; there are three *n*'s, two *t*'s, two *d*'s, two *l*'s, two *sh*'s, two compound letters *ksh* and *gn*, four peculiar letters scarcely ever used, and the rest are merely aspirations of ten of the simple consonants, viz. *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, the two *t*'s, the two *d*'s, *p*, and *b*.

I do not include as requisite the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, because, when pronounced properly, the sounds of the two vowels are distinctly perceptible.

† I am aware that the *t* and *d* most commonly used in Sanscrit are pronounced much softer than in English, but it is impossible to note such modifications of sound of the same consonant by means of the Latin alphabet.

also be remarked that *ch* and *sh* * are simple sounds, represented both in the Sanscrit and Persian alphabets by single characters.

The only Sanscrit letter respecting the pronunciation of which a difference of opinion prevails is the short *a*; for Sir W. Jones thought that its sound might sometimes be conveniently expressed by *e*, as pronounced in *men*, and in this manner he has written the name of the celebrated lawgiver Manu. M. Bopp, also, has observed that "there is only one defect of which we may accuse the Sanscrit alphabet, namely, that the short *a*, the short Italian *e*, and *o* are not distinguished from one another. For I cannot believe that in the language of the Brahmans, when it was a vernacular tongue, the *akara* had always the power of short *a*, and that the sounds of *e* and *o* never occurred in it; I rather think that the sign used for the short *a* was put also to express a short *e* and *o*. If this was the case, it can be accounted for why in words common to the Sanscrit and the Greek, the Indian *akara* so often answers to *e* and *o*; as for instance, *asti*, he is, εστι; *patis*, a husband, ποσις; *ambaras*, the sky, ομβρος, rain; &c." † But the short *a* is considered to be inherent in all Sanscrit consonants, and is, therefore, never expressed by any sign, except at the beginning of words; and, in all the attention which I have paid to the pronunciation of natives from all the different parts of India, I have never been able to detect any sounds similar to the Italian short *e* and *o*. I may add that, on more than one occasion, I have not been able to make myself immediately understood, by using the name Menu instead of Manu. In the pronunciation, however, of the short *a* by the natives them-

* This is undoubtedly the pronunciation of the letter श throughout the whole of India; for, that the pronunciation proposed by Sir W. Jones, and adopted by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, is not even prevalent in Bengal, seems clearly proved by the missionaries of Serampore giving to this letter the sound of the English *sh*, equivalent to the French *ch*, and the German *sch*.

† Annals of Oriental Literature, Part I. Barretti says, in his Grammatica della Lingua Inglese, prefixed to his Dictionary, with respect to *e*, — "Il suono breve ha molta similitudine col nostro *e*, come nelle voci *cellar*, *separate*, *celebrate*, *men*, *then*. E, dinanzi a consonante raddoppiata o a due consonanti, è sempre breve, cioè, ha sempre il suono Italiano, come in *relent*, *medlar*," &c.

The short sound of *o* is common to all the European languages, with scarcely any difference in its pronunciation; but it does not exist in India.

selves a considerable difference prevails: for, to the north of the Krishna, its sound is certainly very similar to the English *u* in the word *sun*, and the long *a* is proportionally shortened; but, to the south of that river, the long *a* preserves its proper sound, and the short *a* is pronounced as in *hand*. But, in the former case, the representing this sound by *u* is not only contrary to all analogy, but renders the words used unintelligible to foreigners, as this pronunciation of *u* is peculiar to the English. The sound, therefore, which will most correctly represent this vowel, is that of *a* pronounced as short as may be consistent with the due preserving of its distinct sound; and this will sufficiently account for its being changed into the short *e* and *o* of other languages.

The *visarga*, a diacritical mark included by Sanscrit grammarians amongst the vowels, is represented by some writers by *s*; but its proper sound, in all parts of India, is a strong aspiration added to the vowel which precedes it, and, consequently, in Roman characters it becomes equivalent to *h*. It seems, however, very probable that, in several Greek and Latin terminations and inflections, this *h* has been changed into *s*. But, as this permutation does not always take place, it ought not to be assumed as a general rule, nor ought a sound to be given to the *visarga* which it does not possess: for it must be recollected that the changes to which this vowel is subject, occur only when words are joined into the connected and artificial periods peculiar to Sanscrit composition; and that, when this language is spoken, the words are not thus linked together, but pronounced with their full and proper sounds. This permutation also errs against the analogy of the Sanscrit language, because, whenever the crude nominative of a noun ends in a consonant, this consonant appears in the oblique cases; as, *manas*, mens, *manasah*, mentis; *naman*, nomen, *namnah*, nominis. If, therefore, the nominative case *Ramah* be written *Ramas*, its genitive case ought to be *Ramasasia*, and not, as it actually is, *Ramasia*; and, in the same manner, if *pita* be written *pitra*, the genitive case ought to be *pitrus*, and not, as it actually is, *pituh*.*

* This mode of representing the *visarga* in Roman characters, seems to have been

The pronunciation, likewise, of one of the compound consonants, ज्ञ, does not seem determined: for the Sanscrit grammarians consider it as composed of *j* and *n*; but, on the western side of India, it is pronounced at the beginning of words like the French *gn*, preceded by the slightly perceptible sound of a soft *d*, and in the middle of words in the same manner, except that the *d* receives a more distinct and forcible pronunciation, as, *dgnanam*, knowledge, *adgna*, an order; were, therefore, the name of a celebrated lawgiver to be pronounced *Yajnawalkia*, it would be unintelligible to the natives. A similar doubt exists with respect to the proper pronunciation of the Greek and Latin *gn*; as it is clearly impossible to give to these letters their usual sounds in such words, as γνωτος, *gnarus*. It is hence probable that the Greeks and Romans employed the *gn*, in some words at least, as a compound sound approaching to the French pronunciation; and I have, consequently, considered it in Greek and Latin words as equivalent to this Sanscrit compound letter.

It requires farther to be observed that in Sanscrit the consonants are all sonant, the short *a* being considered annexed to each of them; and that when they become mute the consonants which coalesce are represented by single distinct characters; as, क्ष *ksha*; त्व *ktwa*; त्रस्त *trasta*; स्यन्दन *Syandana*. With regard to the *n* in the last word, it is most generally represented by a diacritical mark, named *anuswar*, placed over the consonant preceding the one to which the *n* is to be prefixed; as स्यंदन; and this is the orthography which I have adopted in the following Table.* This ingenious method of rendering the

adopted for the purpose of rendering the affinity between the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin languages more apparent: but it is quite unnecessary, and all identifications of words by means of arbitrary permutations repugnant to the analogy and grammatical structure of a language must be always considered as very questionable.

* The *anuswar* is also used to represent the first of the *n*'s and the *m*, when forming the first letter of a connection of consonants, or a final *m* mute. In referring, therefore, to Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary, the words in the following Table marked with *anuswar* must be sought for under the letters which it represents; as for instance, अंक under अङ्क; अंत्र under अन्त्र; अंबरं under अम्बरं.

consonants mute cannot be made apparent in Roman characters; and I have, therefore, in a few instances placed a bracket under the letters which ought to coalesce; as, स्योन *siona*, the sun; the first three letters of which word form but one syllable in Sanscrit.

It will hence appear that the Greek alphabet is deficient in the simple sounds of *ch* soft, *j* soft, *w*, and *sh*, and in most of the aspirations and modified sounds of the Sanscrit letters: but of the last the Greeks have either invented or preserved characters for the long sounds of two vowels in η and ω; and for three aspirations in θ, φ, and χ. The compound letters, however, in Greek, ζ, ξ, and ψ, seem to have no corresponding sounds in Sanscrit.

The Latin alphabet is deficient in the same simple sounds, and also in all the aspirations and modifications of the Sanscrit letters: but the Romans preserved the sound of *w* or *v*, though not a distinct character for representing it.

The Persian alphabet contains all the simple and unmodified sounds of the Sanscrit, and, at the same time, possesses five other letters, viz. *kh* guttural, *z*, *zh* represented by one character, and *gh*. The pronunciation of this last letter is so peculiar that it cannot be described; but its sound partakes of *g* and *r*, and hence it is not unlikely that, on account of this singular pronunciation, the German *gram*, grief, may be derived from the Persian *gham* signifying the same.

The German alphabet is deficient in *ch* soft, the *ch* of this language being pronounced gutturally; *j* soft, this letter being pronounced like the English *y* consonant; and *w*, as this letter is pronounced as the English *v*, the *v* assuming in general the sound of *f*.

The English alphabet, by means of either simple or compound letters, possesses all the simple and unmodified sounds of the Sanscrit; and the annexing an *h* to a consonant is sufficient to indicate that the latter ought to be aspirated

From these remarks it will be obvious that, unless a change of consonants were in some cases admissible, a very numerous class of Sanscrit words must necessarily be excluded from all comparison with those of other languages. But it is well known that, in the formation

of modern from ancient languages, certain consonants have suffered permutation; and, with regard to the Sanscrit itself, Mr. Wilson has thus remarked in the Preface to his Sanscrit Dictionary, — "As to the various readings arising from compounding the different nasals and sibilants, and above all from the perpetual interchange of the letters *b* and *v* (written by me *w*), they are innumerable, and of almost impossible adjustment; the difficulty of separating them, indeed, seems to have been long ago insurmountable, and to have given rise to the following convenient rule, which renders the distinction a matter of perfect indifference; *the letters* r *and* b, d * *and* l, j *and* y, b *and* w, sh *and* s, *a final visarga or its omission, are always optional, there being no difference between them.*" The consequences of this rule, at whatever time it may have been laid down, or rather perhaps the grounds on which it has been admitted as a received principle, become most apparent in the manner in which Sanscrit words have been naturalised in the various vernacular dialects of India; for in all of them the interchange of *b* and *w*, of *sh* and *s*, of *r* and *l*, and of *m* and *n*, is very obvious. Besides these permutations, in Hindi and Gurjrate the *sh* and *ksh* are replaced by *k*, and the *y* is changed into *j*; as, *ket*, a field, for *kshetram*; *harak*, joy, for *harsha*; and *joban*, a youth, for *yuwan*. But the greatest peculiarity in the adoption of Sanscrit words in most of these dialects, is the dissolution or omission of one of the compound consonants which so frequently occur in Sanscrit, particularly of *r* whenever it enters into their composition, and the rejection of the final syllable of the nominative case of nouns: for instance, *grăhăm*, a house, is changed into *ghăr*; *sărpa*, a serpent, into *sāp*; *kripăna*, a miser, into

* This letter ड़ is peculiar to the Sanscrit alphabet, and in sound partakes of *d* and *r*; but, though all well educated natives give this letter a distinct pronunciation, which is unattainable by foreigners, it has always appeared to me that in most words the great body of the people give it precisely the same sound as *r*, and the rule just quoted supports this opinion, for its being interchangeable with *l* shows that in it the sound of *r* must predominate. In the beginning of words however, and, before *n*, it is always pronounced like *d*.

In the following Table I have, in consequence, given this letter the sounds of both *d* and *r*.

kirpăn; dwāra, a door, into *dār; wiāgra*, into *bāgh; hăsta*, a hand, into *hāt; skănda*, a shoulder, into *kānda; shushka*, dry, into *suka; swărna*, gold, into *sona*. The *k*, also, of Sanscrit words is often omitted; as, *pāshăka*, a die, *pāsha; mrittika*, earth, *măti; narikela*, a cocoa-nut, *narel*.

Of the identity of these words there can be no doubt, and they may, therefore, serve as examples of the changes which Sanscrit words may have undergone in passing into other languages. In availing myself, however, of these principles, I have been guided entirely by the meaning of the terms compared; but, whenever this was the same, I have concluded that the words were also the same. For the identity of *kremilam* and καμηλον; *shunam*, κυνα, and *canem; takshate*, στεγεται, and *tegit; shushati* and *siccat; kandati* and *scindit*; though these words have become altered in their pronunciation and orthography, will scarcely, I think, be contested. But I have not been able to satisfy myself that the changes incidental to Sanscrit words in passing into other languages have proceeded on any fixed principles. It seems, however, probable that, in Greek, *j* was changed into γ, *sh* into κ and occasionally into θ and ξ, and *ch* into γ. I find three words only beginning with *ch*, and the *w* is generally dropped, but sometimes changed into ϵ. In Latin, *ch* is changed into *c*, and sometimes into *qu; j* into *g; bh* into *f;* and *sh* into *s* or *c;* and, in Persian, I merely observe the occasional omission of the aspirated *d*, the change of *sh* into *kh*, and sometimes the rejection of the final syllable of the Sanscrit words; for it will be seen in the following Table that, in Persian, *mădhiăm* is changed into *miān*, and *widhăwa* into *biwā*, *shuba* into *khub*, and *shukra* into *khuk*.

But it will no doubt excite surprise that, in the 900 Sanscrit words contained in the following Table, which have passed into five other distinct languages, so little change has taken place either in their vowels or consonants; and that these changes are satisfactorily supported by the primary or secondary meaning of the words compared being exactly similar. When, therefore, this simple and self-evident circumstance is contrasted with the strange and forced etymologies on which all etymologists have hitherto erected their systems, it will,

perhaps, be admitted that these systems are totally erroneous. The derivation, consequently, of all languages from Hebrew, or the Greek and Latin from the Celtic or Gothic, or the Teutonic languages from the Scythian, unless it be established by an equal number of words, equally identical in sound and meaning, must now be considered to rest on no foundation whatever.

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

Experience evinces that, in passing from one language into another, the apparent identity of words will be affected by the grammatical rules of the language in which they become naturalised; for no two languages agree perfectly in their inflections, or in the changes to which the root is subjected previous to these inflections being joined to it. In the verbs, for instance, of Persian, German, and English, derived from Sanscrit, the root * only has being adopted, while in those of Greek and Latin most of the Sanscrit inflections have been preserved. As, however, the root is sufficient to prove the common origin of words belonging to different tongues, any enquiry into the grammatical structure of those contained in the following Table may seem unnecessary. But the degree of affinity which exists between distinct languages, and, consequently, the filiation of one people from another, can be satisfactorily demonstrated by similarity of grammatical structure only: for commerce, conquest, and religion may introduce the single words of a foreign language into any country, without its inhabitants being descended from the people to whose mother tongue these words belonged. The Greek and Latin words contained in

* Strictly speaking, not the root, but the third person singular of the present tense of the indicative mood of the active voice; which is the part always used by the natives when speaking of a Sanscrit verb.

English do not prove that the English people are descended from the Greeks and Romans. But the grammatical structure of a language must have been coeval with its origin, and is so indispensably requisite for its distinct existence, that, whenever the grammatical inflections of one language are found in another, no possible causes can be assigned for such a similarity, except that the one language was derived from the other, or that they both sprang from the same common source.

Could, therefore, any words be produced from the Arabic class of languages which corresponded in sound and meaning with those of other tongues; still the peculiar grammatical structure of the Arabic would evince that these words must have become common to the two languages from some accidental cause, and would, consequently, be no proof that any affinity whatever existed between them. For the Arabic and its cognate dialects are distinguished by their verbs having neither a present nor a future tense, by the persons of their solitary two tenses having a masculine and feminine gender, and by their total rejection of compound words, from all languages with which I am acquainted; and from the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, by the paucity of inflections which apply to the Arabic noun and verb. For to me it seems absolutely impossible that any language, which had at first existed in the form of Arabic, could ever have so changed the grammatical principles on which it was formed, as to produce the numerous inflections, and the extensive system of composition of words, by which the Sanscrit and Greek are so preeminently distinguished.

Numerous inflections, however, are not essential to language, for their office is, perhaps, better performed by distinct words. But, though there are many instances of words losing the inflections which they once possessed, no example can, I believe, be produced of words acquiring inflections which did not belong to them on the original formation of the language. It is this circumstance which renders it particularly necessary to examine the grammatical structure of the languages contained in the following Table, in order to deter-

mine whether or not the Persian and Teutonic races of men were descended from a people who spoke Sanscrit; for, that the Greeks and Romans were of a common origin with this people, no doubt can possibly exist.

GREEK AND LATIN.

In pursuing this enquiry, it will be most satisfactory to commence with the two last languages; and, as comparative tables are much more easily understood than any detailed explanation in words, I have arranged in the following such coincidences as I have ascertained in the grammatical structure of Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin: —

NOUNS.

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
G.	narasia *	τιμης	ensis			
	gireh		pennæ rei			
	guroh	λογυ λεω	domus			
	swaminah	σωματος	hominis	swaminam †	λογων	hominum
D.	narāyah	λογῳ	domino	narabhiah	fructibus	hominibus
	giraye	τιμῃ	pennæ			
	guruwe		domui			
	swamĭne	σωματι	homini			
Ac.	narăm	τιμην λογον	dominum rem			
	tarām	μυσαν	pennam	tarāh	μυσας	pennas
	gurum	δοτρυν	domum			
	swaminam	οφιν	hominem	swaminah	τιτανας	homines
Ab.	nare	τιμῃ	re	nareshu	μυσαις λογοις	dominis
	girau	λογῳ	domino			
	swamini	σωματι	homine	swamishu	τιτασι	

* This is the most common termination of the genitive of masculine and neuter parisyllabic nouns, but in imparisyllabic nouns in Sanscrit the termination *sia* is rejected, and its place supplied by *visargа* or *h*.

† The most frequent termination of the genitive plural in Sanscrit is *anam*, which is not found in Greek or Latin, unless it be supposed that in the latter *anam* has been changed into *orum* and *arum*.

The terminations of the cases will, however, be best seen in the declension of the following two adjectives :—

SINGULAR.

N.	kalăh	kalā	kalăm	καλος	καλη	καλον	bonus	bona	bonum
G.	kalasia	kalaya	kalasia	καλου	καλης	καλου	boni	bonæ	boni *
D.	kalaya	kalayai	kalaya	καλῳ	καλῃ	καλῳ	bono	bonæ	bono
Ac.	kalăm	kalām	kalăm	καλον	καλην	καλον	bonum	bonam	bonum
Ab.	kale	kalaya	kale	καλῳ	καλῃ	καλῳ	bono	bona	bono

PLURAL.

N.	kalāh	kalāh	kalāni	καλοι	καλαι	καλα	boni	bonæ	bona
G.	kalānam			καλων			bonorum	bonarum	bonorum
D.	kalebhiah								
Ac.	kalān	kalāh	kalāni	καλους	καλας	καλα	bonos	bonas	bona
Ab.	kaleshu	kalāsu	kaleshu	καλοις	καλαις	καλοις	bonis		

DUAL.

N. and Ac.	kalau	kale	kale	καλω	καλα	λαλω
G.	kalioh			καλοιν		

SINGULAR.

N.	dhanih	dhanini	dhani	μελας	μελαινα	μελαν	inanis	inane
G.	dhaninah	dhaniniah	dhaninah	μελανος	μελαινης	μελανος	inanis	
D.	dhanine	dhaniniai	dhanine	μελανι	μελαινῃ	μελανι	inani	
Ac.	dhaninăm	dhananim	dhani	μελανα	μελαιναν	μελαν	inanem	inane
Ab.	dhanini	dhaniniam	dhanini	μελανι	μελαινῃ	μελανι	inani	

PLURAL.

N.	dhaninah	dhaniniah	dhanini	μελανες	μελαιναι	μελανα	inanes	inania
G.	dhaninam			μελανων			inanum	
D.	dhanibhiah						inanibus	
Ac.	dhaninah	dhaninih	dhanini	μελανας	μελαινας	μελανα	inanes	inania
Ab.	dhanĭshu	dhanīshu	dhanishu	μελασι				

DUAL.

N. and Ac.	dhaninau	dhaniniau	dhanini	μελανε	μελαινα	μελανε
G.	dhaninoh	dhaninioh	dhaninoh	μελανοιν	μελαιναιν	μελανοιν

* In other Latin adjectives the genitive ends in *is*.

In Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, the adjectives are compared in the same manner, and the terminations for forming the comparative and superlative are nearly similar; as,

kalam kalataram kalatamam κενον κενοτερον κενοτατον citus citiorem citimum

The mode of comparison which is named in the Port Royal Greek Grammar irregular, is also derived from the Sanscrit; as,

laguh lagyan lagishta γλυκυς γλυκιων γλυκιστος

but in both languages the adjective may be also compared regularly.

PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns, as it might be expected, have suffered such changes in passing from Sanscrit into other languages, that but few of their inflections have been preserved. The nominatives, however, of the first and second persons, *aham* and *twam*, may still be recognised in εγω, ego; συ, Dorice τυ, tu: but the first persons plural have been preserved in English only, as, *waiam*, we; *yuyam*, you. The dative singular, also, remains nearly the same, as, *mahiam*, μοι, mihi; *tubiam*, τοι, tibi: and the accusative may be recognised in *mām* or *mā*, με, me; and in *twām* or *twā*, τε, te; but these inflections may, perhaps, have been formed from the Sanscrit contracted dative *me:* and the contracted accusatives plural *năh* and *wăh* may not unlikely be represented by *nos* and *vos.*

But in the adjective pronouns the coincidences are singularly striking, as will be apparent from the following tables: —

SINGULAR.

N.	yăh	yāh	yah	ὁς	ἡ	ὁ	is	ea	id
G.	yasia	yasia	yasia	οὑ	ἡς	οὑ	ejus		
Ac.	yăm	yām	yat	ὁν	ἡν	ὁ	eum	eam	id

PLURAL.

N.	ye	yah	yani	οἱ	αἱ	ἁ	ii	ea	ea
Ac.	yan	yah	yani	οὑς	ἁς	ἁ	eos	eas	ea
Ab.	yeshu	yāsu	yeshu	οἱς	αἱς	οἱς	eis		

SINGULAR.

							Anglo-Saxon.		
N.	săh	sāh	tat	ὁ	ἡ	το	se	seo	thet
G.	tasia	tasia	tasia	του	της	του	thes	these	thes
D.	tasmai	tasyai	tasmai				tham	these	tham
Ac.	tăm	tām	tat	τον	την	το	thon	thane	thet
Ab.	tena	taya	tena	τῳ	τῃ	τῳ			

DUAL.

N. and Ac.	tau	te	te	τω	τα	τω
G.	tayoh			τοιν		

PLURAL.

N.	te	tah	tani	οἱ	αἱ	τα	tha
G.	tesham	tasam	tesham				thesa
Ac.	tān	tah	tani	τους	τας	τα	tha
Ab.	teshu	tasu	teshu	τοις	ταις	τοις	

Dative, tham

SINGULAR.

N.	esha	esha	etăt	αυτος	αυτη	αυτο	iste	ista	istud
G.	etasia	etasia	etasia	αυτου	αυτης	αυτου	istius		
D.	etasmai	etasyai	etasmai				isti		
Ac.	etăm	etām	etăt	αυτον	αυτην	αυτο	istum	istam	istud

PLURAL.

N.	ete	eta	etani	αυτοι	αυται	αυτα	isti	istæ	ista
Ab.	eteshu	etasu	eteshu	αυτοις	αυταις	αυτοις	istis		

SINGULAR.

N.	kăh	kāh	kim *	qui	quæ	quod
G.	kasia	kasia	kasia	cujus		
Ac.	kăm	kām	kim	quem	quam	quod
Ab.	kena	kaya	kena	quo	qua	quo

* According to the analogy of the other pronouns, this ought to be *kăt* or *kăd*, and such, perhaps, was the original form.

PLURAL.

N.	kah	kah	kani	qui	quæ	quæ
G.	kesham	kasam	kesham	quorum	quarum	quorum
D.	kebhiah	kabhiah	kebhiah	quibus		
Ac.	kan	kah	kani	quos	quas	quæ

VERBS.

In the verbs, also, the coincidences are equally striking, as will be apparent from the following tables:—

PRESENT TENSE.

	1st Per.	2d Per.	3d Per.		1st Per.	2d Per.	3d Per.	
Sing.	lagāmi	lagăsi	lagăti	*Plur.*	lagāmah	lagătha	lagănti	
	λεγω	λεγεις	λεγει		λεγομεν	λεγετε	λεγοντι	Dor.
Mid. Voice.	λεγομαι	λεγῃ	λεγεται					
	lego	legis	legit		legimus	legitis	legunt	

FIRST PRÆTERITE.*

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	alăgăm	alăgăh	alăgăt	*Plur.*	alăgăma	alăgăte	alăgăn
	ελεγον	ελεγες	ελεγε		ελεγομεν	ελεγετε	ελεγον
Pres. Subj.	legam	legas	legat		legamus	legatis	legant

	2.	3.	2.	3.
Dual.	alăgătăm	alagatam	ελεγετον	ελεγετην

SECOND PRÆTERITE.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	lălăga	lălăgĭtha	lălăga	*Plur.*	lălăgima	lălăga	lălăgul
Mid. Voice.	e	lalagishe				lalagitive	lalagire
	λελεχα	λελεχας	λελεχε		λελεχαμεν	λελεχετε	λελεχασι
	cucurri	cucurristi	cucurrit		cucurrimus	cucurristis	cucurrere

POTENTIAL.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	lageam	lage	laget	*Plur.*	lagema	lagete	lageyuh
	λεγοιμι	λεγοις	λεγοι		λεγοιμεν	λεγοιτε	λεγοιεν
Mid. Voice.	λεγοιμην	λεγοιο	λεγοιτο				
	laudem	laudes	laudet		laudemus	laudetis	laudent

* I adopt the terms used in Dr. Wilkins's Sanscrit Grammar.

SECOND FUTURE.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	lagishiāmi	lagishiăsi	lăgishiăti	*Plur.*	lagishiāmah	lagishiătha	lagishiănte
	λεξω	λεξεις	λεξει.		λεξομεν	λεξειτε	λεξουντι
Mid. Voice.	λεξομαι	λεξῃ	λεξεται				

CONDITIONAL.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	alagishiam	alagisheah	alagisheat	*Plur.*	alagishiama	alagishiate	alagishian
	λεξαιμι	λεξαις	λεξαι		λεξαιμεν	λεξαιτε	λεξαιεν
	lexissem	lexisses	lexisset		lexissemus	lexissetis	lexissent

	2.	3.	2.	3.
Dual.	alagishiatam	alagishisheatam	λεξαιτον	λεξαιτην

IMPERATIVE.

	2.	3.		2.	3.	
Sing.	laga	lagătu	*Plur.*	lagăta	lagantu	
	λεγε	λεγετω		λεγετε	λεγοντων	Att.
	lege	legito		legite	legunto	

The Sanscrit infinitive is preserved in the first Latin supine; as, *palitum*, alitum; *sănitum*, cinctum.

The present participle in the masculine gender is nearly similar; as,

	N.	G.	D.	Ac.	Ab.		N. & Ac.	G.	D.	Ab.
Sing.	lagan	lagatah	lăgate	lagantam	lagati	*Plur.*	lagantah	lagatām	lagadbhiah	lagatsu
	λεγων	λεγοντος	λεγοντι	λεγοντα			λεγοντες	λεγοντων		λεγουσι
	legens	legentis	legenti	legentem	legenti		legentes	legentium	legentibus	

The feminine is formed regularly in Sanscrit, as *laganti*, and declined like other feminine nouns; but in Greek it is formed irregularly, as λεγουσα, and in Latin it is the same as the masculine.

The neuter thus forms the nominative and accusative, singular and plural: —

agăt laganti λεγον λεγοντα legens legentia

The present participle of the middle voice is also the same in Sanscrit and Greek; as,

lagămānăh lagamānāh lagămānăm λεγομενος. λεγομενη λεγομενον

and the Sanscrit past participle has been preserved in Latin; as,

lagătăh	lagătāh	lagătăm	legatus	legata	legatum
saktah	saktah	sactam	lectus	lecta	lectum

It thus appears that of the ten Sanscrit tenses, viz. the present, the three præterites, the two futures, the potential, the conditional, the imperative, and the infinitive, the inflections of six have been preserved both in Greek and Latin, and of one in Greek and Latin respectively; so that there remain two tenses only, the inflections of which have been lost.

The middle and passive voices of Sanscrit verbs, however, being formed merely by slight changes in the increments used in the active voice, do not afford any coincidences which would admit of identifying their tenses with those of Greek and Latin verbs.*

PARTICLES.

Horne Tooke has observed that, "though *abbreviation and corruption are always busiest with the words which are most frequently in*

* The coincidences in the substantive verb have been given by other writers, but it may be proper to add them here: —

PRESENT.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.	
S. *Sing.*	asmi	asi	asti	*Plur.*	smah	stha	santi	
G.	ειμι	εις	εστι		εσμεν	εστε	εντι	Dor.
L.	esum	es	est		sumus	estis	sunt	

IMPERATIVE.

	2.	3.		2.	3.	
S. *Sing.*	edhi	astu	*Plur.*	sta	santu	
G.	ισθι	εστω		εστε	εστων	Att. L. sunto

POTENTIAL.

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Sing.*	siam	sia	siat	*Plur.*	siama	siata	suih
L.	sim	sis	sit		simus	sitis	sint

use; yet the *words most frequently used are least liable to be totally laid aside,* and, therefore, they are often retained (I mean that branch of them which is most frequently used), when most of the other words (and even the other branches of these retained words) are by various changes and accidents lost to a language. Hence the difficulty of accounting for them, and hence (because only one branch of each of these *declinable* words is retained in a language) arises the notion of their being *indeclinable* and a separate sort of words, or part of speech by themselves."* But, if it be admitted that this opinion is correct, the identity of so many of the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin particles, and the illustration which some in the two last languages receives from Sanscrit, must tend still farther to demonstrate that the remarkable affinity which prevails between these languages could not have existed, had not Greek and Latin been actually derived from Sanscrit. For instance, it has been found impossible to account for *a* having in Greek both an intensive and a privative signification; but it is at once explained by observing that, in the first sense, it is equivalent to the Sanscrit preposition *a* (the same as the Latin *ad*), which implies addition, excess, or superiority; and in the last sense it corresponds with the Sanscrit privative particle. The same confusion has taken place in the meaning given to the particle νη, as it is also both privative and intensive, because the distinction between the Sanscrit *ni* implying excess, and *nir* denoting deprivation, has not been preserved. Again, ϝου (equivalent to the Latin *væ*) is explained by lexicographers as *particula augendi,* and very correctly, as it is clearly the Sanscrit adjective *bahu* †, much, many.

Dr. Jamieson, indeed, observes that "many learned writers, in former ages, have deduced Gothic words from the Greek, or from the Latin language. This mode of derivation, however, has not only excited a smile at their expense, but has in part contributed to subject the science of etymology in general to ridicule. It has, with good

* Epea Pteroenta, vol. i. p. 127.

† In speaking, the aspirate is but slightly pronounced, and the two syllables might easily coalesce; as, to my ear, they often do in the actual pronunciation by the natives of the word *bahuwachan,* plural.

reason, been deemed inconceivable, that the Gothic tribes should borrow from the Greeks, with whom, during the historical age at least, they had scarce any intercourse, nor were they better acquainted with the Latins, when they inundated and subdued the Roman empire..... This mode of derivation being justly scouted, an enquiry naturally occurs to the mind: *As a remarkable affinity has been observed between the Gothic and Greek and Latin languages, may not the former idea be inverted; is there not a possibility that the languages of Greece may have originated from the ancient Scythian?*" * But by the Scythians Dr. Jamieson intends the ancestors of the Gothic people, and I have, perhaps, not only shown that these were Thracians, and not Scythians, but, also, that the Thracian language was originally the same as the Greek and Latin. I have further evinced that there is every reason to suppose that this language was actually the primitive tongue of Asia Minor, and itself derived from that of Babylonia, or Sanscrit. The particles, therefore, in Greek, Latin, and Gothic would naturally, in many instances, retain their identity; and, if such as are cognate in these languages are, also, found in Sanscrit, their derivation from the latter will scarcely be disputed.†

There is, however, one difficulty in this identification, which arises from the various and even opposite meanings which particles, and particularly prepositions, have acquired from long use; and hence, precise identity of signification cannot be resorted to in order to prove the identity of the particles compared: but, notwithstanding, almost all the particles selected by Dr. Jamieson are found in Sanscrit; as for instance: —

* Hermes Scythicus, Intr. p. 1.

† Horne Tooke remarks, — "For these troublesome conjunctions, which have hitherto caused them [etymologists] so much mistake and unsatisfactory labour, shall save them many an error and many a weary step in future. They shall no more expose themselves by unnatural forced conceits to derive the English and all other languages from the Greek, or the Hebrew, or some primeval imaginary tongue. The particles of every language shall teach them whither to direct, and where to stop their enquiries; for, wherever the evident meaning and origin of the particles of any language can be found, *there* is the certain source of the whole." — *Epea Pteroenta*, vol. i. p. 146.

अनु (*anu*); G. ανα; M. G. ana.
विना (*wina*); G. ανευ; L. sine; M. G. inuh.
अंतिक (*antika*), near, proximate; G. αντι; L. ante; M. G. anda.
अप अव (*apa, awa*); G. απο; L. ab; M. G. abu.
अभि (*abhi*), junction, tendency; G. επι; M. G. bi.
मिथ (*mitha*), together, junction, mutually; G. μετα; M. G. mith.
परा (*părā*), far; G. παρα; M. G. faura.
पारं (*părăm*), the opposite; G. περαν; M. G. fairra.
परि (*pări*); G. περι.*
प्र (*pră*); G. προ; L. pro; M. G. faur.
सम् (*săm*); G. συν; L. cum; M. G. sam.
उपरि (*upări*); G. ὑπερ; L. super; M. G. ufar.
उप (*upa*); G. ὑπο; L. sub; M. G. uf.
यत् (*yăt*); G. ὁτι; L. uti; M. G. at.
यत (*yăta*); G. ετι; A. S. get.
अमा (*ama*); G. αμα; A. S. em.
यदा (*yăda*); G. ὁτε; A. S. tha.
तदा (*tăda*); G. τοτε; M. G. thade.
आयु (*ayu*), age; G. αει; M. G. aiw.
उरी (*uri*), expansion †; G. αρι, ερι; Alem. er.
द्विश (*dwisha*), by twos, separately; G. δις; L. dis; M. G. dis.

I add a few other particles, not adverted to in Dr. Jamieson's work, belonging to either Greek, Latin, or Gothic, which are derived from Sanscrit:—

अद्य (*adya*); L. hodie; M. G. hita.
आसंन (*asann*); G. ασσον.
इति (*iti*); G. ειτα; L. ita.

* Dr. Jamieson is at a loss to fix on a Gothic preposition corresponding with περι.

† Wilson gives no etymon for this particle, but in this sense it seems formed from the adjective *uru*, great, large.

अति (*ati*); G. αδην.
तु (*tu*); G. τοι.
दुस् (*dus*); G. δυς.
परूत् (*părut*), the last year; G. περυσι.
पुरस (*purăs*); G. προς.
प्रति (*prăti*); G. προτι.
मा (*ma*); G. μα.
सु (*su*); G. ευ.
क्व (*kwa*); L. quo.
उत् (*ut*); L. ut, conj.
वत् (*wăt*); L. ut, adv.
पश्चात् (*păschăt*); L. post.
अत्र (*ătra*); A. S. hither.
तत्र (*tătra*); A. S. thither.
यत्र (*yătra*); A. S. whither.
अति (*ăti*), beyond; A. S. ut.
अन् (*ăn*), the privative before a vowel; Goth. un.
संक्षु (*sankshu*); M. G. sansaiw.
अधुना (*adhuna*); M. G. guthan.
किमुत (*kimuta*); A. S. humeta.
संततं (*sàntatam*); M. G. sintaino.
उदय (*udayă*), sunrising; M. G. uhtwo, *mane*.
अथवा (*athwa*); A. S. oththe.
पुरस्तात् (*purastat*); Eng. first.

The reader will now be enabled to judge whether it is not more probable that the Greek, Latin, and Gothic particles have been principally derived from Sanscrit, than that they have been formed in the manner stated by Dr. Jamieson and other writers. But, if this be admitted, Horne Tooke must be mistaken in the account of the origin

of particles, which he has given in these words: — "Language, it is true, is an art, and a glorious one; whose influence extends over all the others, and in which finally all science whatever must centre. But an art springing from necessity, and originally invented by artless men; who did not sit down like philosophers to invent *des petits mots pour être mis avant les noms;* nor yet did they take for this purpose *des premiers sons brefs et vagues qui leur venoit à la bouche;* but they took such and the same (whether great or small, whether monosyllable or polysyllable, without distinction) as they employed upon other occasions to mention the same *real objects.* For *prepositions* also are the names of real objects, and these *petits mots* happen in this case to be so, merely from their repeated corruption, owing to their frequent, long continued, and perpetual use."* Because all the labour and ingenuity of Sanscrit grammarians have not enabled them to class such words under any roots; or, at least, whenever they have done so, the derivations are as far fetched and unlikely as most of those which have been adduced by Horne Tooke. For, as he admits that language was invented by artless men, such an etymology as this must appear utterly improbable: — "I imagine, also, that *of* (in the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon *af*) is a fragment of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon *afora*, posteritas, &c.; *afora*, proles, &c. That it is a noun substantive, and means always *consequence*, *offspring*, *successor*, *follower*," &c. † But would it not be much more reasonable to conclude that, if particles were originally significant in themselves, they have become so disguised and corrupted by long use, that it is now perfectly impossible to discover their real nature; and, in this instance particularly, to suppose that the Gothic *af* and English *of* have been derived from the Sanscrit *apa* or *ava*?

* Epea Pteroenta, vol. i. p. 317.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 367.

Might not one be allowed with great justness to thus parody Horne Tooke's own words, in a note in the 115th page of that volume? — "Now if this, and such stuff as this, be etymology, and that too of the greatest etymologist that ever existed, I do most humbly entreat, if you still continue obstinate to discard common sense, that I may have the etymologies of Dean Swift again."

TEUTONIC DIALECTS.

From the preceding observations the remarkable similarity of the grammatical system in Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin will have been rendered fully apparent; but, amongst the Thracians, this system was found too artificial for a people who did not cultivate the arts of civilised life. In the Teutonic dialects, consequently, the grammatical structure assumes a simplicity that might render their affinity with those languages liable to doubt, did not undeniable traces exist in all these dialects which attest that they, also, must have been at one time distinguished by more numerous grammatical forms; for the substantives and adjectives still retain three genders, and their cases are formed by inflections and not by prepositions. In these cases, also, a few of the Sanscrit terminations have been preserved, the identity of which cannot be doubted, as they equally appear in Greek and Latin nouns. In Anglo-Saxon, for instance, the genitive singular ends generally in *s*, the dative in *e*, and in one declension the accusative plural of masculine nouns ends in *as*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *ah*, and of feminine nouns in *a*, as in Sanscrit. The genitive plural, also, seems to be formed by merely rejecting the last syllable of the Sanscrit; as, S. *narānam*, A. S. *smitha*. In one declension, indeed, the final letter only is rejected; as, S. *girinam*, A. S. *witigena*.

But in the Teutonic verbs the ten Sanscrit tenses and their inflections have nearly disappeared, and of the distinct formation of a middle and passive voice no traces remain. The number, however, of Sanscrit verbs still discoverable in these dialects, and the almost certainty that their parent language was the same as the Greek and Latin, must place it beyond a doubt that the Gothic verb must also have been originally conjugated by means of inflections, and not of auxiliary verbs; but the use of the latter for this purpose seems so consonant to the habits of a rude people, that even the Latin has been obliged to have recourse to it. It cannot, therefore, seem im-

probable that the Thracians, unacquainted with letters and the arts of civilised life, may have soon found these complicated modifications of the verb inconvenient and unnecessary, and that they in consequence rejected them, and supplied their places with other distinct words. In its present state the Gothic verb, assuming the second person singular of the imperative as the root, admits of only three inflections, the present, præterite, and infinitive; to which may be added the present participle. The terminations, also, of the persons of these two tenses are precisely the same, and vary merely in the singular, as there is but one termination for the three persons of the plural. There, consequently, remains scarcely any thing for comparison with the Sanscrit verb. But in Mœso-Gothic the terminations have been better preserved, and their identity with Sanscrit is evident; as for instance,

	1st Per.	2d Per.	3d Per.		1st Per.	2d Per.	3d Per.
Sing.	shokāmi	shokăsi	shokăti	*Plur.*	shokāmăh	shokāthă	shokănti
Mid. Voice.	shoke						
M. G.	soka	sokais	sokaith		sokam	sokith	sokand

In Mœso-Gothic, also, Hickes has given a future, formed by inflection, which nearly agrees with the Sanscrit potential: —

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
Sing.	shokeyam	shokeh*	shoket	*Plur.*	shokema	shoketa	shokeyu
Mid. Voice.	shokeya						
M. G.	sokau	sokaís	sokai		sokaima	sokait	sokaina

The Sanscrit substantive verb, at the same time, has been best preserved in Mœso-Gothic, though its present tense is compounded of the persons of two of the Sanscrit tenses; as,

		1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Pres. tense.*	*Sing.*	asmi	asi	asti	*Plur.*			santi
Potential.						syama	syata	
M. G.		im	is	ist		siyum	siyuth	sind

* This final *h*, or visarga, as I have before observed, is frequently changed into *s*.

I have already noticed, in p. 152., the Sanscrit verbs which contribute to the formation of the Anglo-Saxon substantive verb; but the coincidences will be rendered still more apparent by comparing other tenses of the Mœso-Gothic substantive verb with the corresponding ones in Sanscrit: —

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Potential. Sing.*	syam	syah	syat	*Plur.*	syama	syata	syuh
M. G. *Ditto.*	siyau	siyais	siyai		siyaima	siyaith	siyaina

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Potential. Sing.*	waseya	waseh	waset	*Plur.*	wasema	waseta	waseyuh
M. G. *Ditto.*	wasau	wasais	wasei		waseima	wasaith	waseina

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Pres. tense. Sing.*	wartāmi	wartăsi	wartăti	*Plur.*	wartāmă	wartăthă	wartănti
Mid. Voice.	warte						
M. G.	wairtha	wairthais	wairthet		wairtham	wairthaith	wairthand

The præterite tense of the Gothic verb is clearly the past participle of the Sanscrit, to which personal terminations have been added; as, S. *shokita*, M. G. *sokida*.

The present active participle of Mœso-Gothic in the accusative case is identical with the Sanscrit; as, M. G. *habendan*, S. *bhawantam*.*

These coincidences in the general structure of the Gothic and Sanscrit languages will, perhaps, be sufficient to evince that the dissimilarity which at present exists in their grammatical systems affords no just grounds for doubting that the former was derived from the latter. On the contrary, when it is considered that the Gothic

* It appears to me highly probable that the verb *habeo* in Latin, which has a corresponding term in all the Teutonic dialects, is derived from this Sanscrit verb, as will perhaps be apparent from contrasting the following tenses: —

	1.	2.	3.		1.	2.	3.
S. *Potential. Sing.*	bhaveya	bhaveh	bhavet	*Plur.*	bhavema	bhaveta	bhaveyuh
Present tense.							bhavanti
L. *Present tense.*	habeo	habes	habet		habemus	habetis	habent
M. G.	hăba	habais	habaith		habam	habeith	haband

The Latin perfect *habui* may be derived from Sanscrit *bebhuwa*, and the Latin supine *habitum* seems clearly to be the Sanscrit infinitive *bhavitum*.

was in constant use, for, probably, fifteen hundred years, as the vernacular tongue of the rude and widely dispersed tribes that inhabited Thracia and Germany, before it was employed as a written language, it must excite the greatest surprise that it should exhibit even at this day such undeniable indications of its having originally possessed a much more artificial grammatical structure. When, also, these indications are confirmed by the remarkable circumstance of the Teutonic dialects containing, after a lapse of three thousand years, at least 413 Sanscrit words, it will scarcely be denied that the cognate origin of Greek, Latin, and these dialects from the Sanscrit language has been as satisfactorily demonstrated as the nature of the subject admits of.

PERSIAN.

But in Persian there is not the slightest appearance that its grammatical system was ever different from that which has prevailed during the last thousand years; and I have, perhaps, fully shown in the Tenth Chapter that, previous to the first Persian author now extant, no external influence had ever effected any essential alteration in the language which had been used in Persia from time immemorial. Its peculiar structure, therefore, deserves the attentive consideration of the philologist, because it differs entirely from that of all other languages. The characteristics by which it is principally distinguished consist in the nouns having no genders; in the substantives having only one case; in the adjectives being indeclinable; in the verbs being all conjugated according to one paradigm, and in four of their tenses being formed by particles; and, particularly, in the words of a most copious language being nearly all primitive, as it scarcely admits of the primitive being modified by means of increments, or of its being compounded with particles. In many respects, consequently, it approaches to English in the simplicity of its structure, but it far surpasses the latter in regularity and originality.

There exists not, therefore, the remotest similarity between the Persian and Sanscrit grammatical systems; for the Persian noun has but one case, and the verb, taking the second person singular of the imperative as the root, only three inflections including the infinitive, and the personal terminations of the two tenses are precisely the same. Nor is there even any farther resemblance between the Sanscrit and Persian substantive verbs, than in the third person singular of the present tense. The Persian also differs from the Sanscrit by forming several tenses and a complete passive voice by means of auxiliary verbs. There is, in fact, not the least identity between these two languages, except in the words which have passed from the one into the other; but these fully prove that, though the Persian is not derived from Sanscrit, still the Persians must have had, at some remote period, a most intimate intercourse with a people who spoke that tongue. Unfortunately, however, as a negative cannot be proved, it is impossible to demonstrate this truth to a person unacquainted with these languages; or to fully satisfy him that the number of Sanscrit words found in Persian ought not to lead to a conclusion, as in the case of Greek and Latin, that the latter was derived from the former: but, as the dissimilarity of their grammatical structure will not be denied by any person competently acquainted with them, it is merely requisite to consider whether any instance has ever existed of a derived language differing totally, in grammatical structure, from the parent tongue; for, if not, it must necessarily follow that, notwithstanding the numerous Sanscrit words it contains, Persian was not derived from Sanscrit.*

* Amongst the other innumerable errors which occur in Dr. A. Murray's History of the European languages is the following strange opinion: — "The Persic, in the violence of ages, like the Anglo-Saxon, has lost nearly all its inflections; though it be a perspicuous, it is evidently a barren dialect. It has run the race which experience shows to be due to articulate speech in its natural progress. Time destroys the more delicate and complex parts of the structure, by the hand of ignorance and chance; leaving the ruins, for the materials of a smaller and less splendid edifice, to future ingenuity."—Vol. ii. p. 440. How any person, aware that Greek had remained, from before the time of Homer to the capture of Constantinople, during a course of 2500 years, and during all the changes which the Grecian people had suffered in that long interval, in every respect the same identical

FROM the preceding observations it will be evident that, on account of differences in the alphabetical systems and grammatical structure of the languages into which Sanscrit words have passed, these words must necessarily have suffered changes both in their component letters and in their final and penultimate syllables; and, consequently, such obviously unavoidable alterations would not justly render questionable the identity of the words compared together in the following Table. But it is most singular that such legitimate changes are scarcely requisite for effecting this comparison; and that by an occasional permutation of vowels and two or three consonants, and the mere rejection of a grammatical inflection, 900 Sanscrit words can be incontrovertibly identified with the same number in five distinct languages. It will, also, be observed that in very few instances only has either prosthesis, epenthesis, or metathesis occurred. The prefixing, however, of an *s* to words seems common to several languages, and that in Latin words an *n* has been occasionally inserted can scarcely be doubted: for it will not, perhaps, be denied that the Sanscrit *sapta* is identical with ἑπτα, and S. *plina* with G. σπλην, L. *lien*; and that S. *shătăm*, G. ἑκατον, L. *centum*; S. *răsă*, G. ερση, L. *ros*; and S. *ăsim*, L. *ensem*, are the same words; as in these and similar

language, could write such remarks as these seems inexplicable. But, if by Anglo-Saxon English be intended, the causes which have occasioned it to lose nearly all its inflections are well known; and, consequently, before it is produced as an example in support of any philological argument, it ought to be first proved that the country, the language of which may be under discussion, had undergone precisely the same revolutions as England. In Persia, on the contrary, not the slightest indication exists, either in tradition or history, which shows that, previous to the Arabian conquest, any foreign influence ever operated the slightest change in the Persian language; and every Persian scholar must admit that the effects of that event have not in the least degree altered its original structure. The writer, however, who can consider Persian as a *barren dialect*, must be so totally ignorant of that language as to render his opinion respecting its origin and nature undeserving of attention.

cases the meaning is precisely the same. The identity of ιος and the Sanscrit *ishu* might appear more questionable, were it not for the identity of their signification; but εος and the Sanscrit *usha* will no doubt be readily admitted to be identical. Such changes, however, occur very seldom, and I have, perhaps, adhered too strictly to my own principles, in excluding words the derivation of which from Sanscrit would not in all probability have been controverted.*

But, in case the words contained in the following Table should be examined critically, it must be further remarked that in some instances it is by the primitive, and not by the usual, signification of the Greek, Latin, or Gothic terms that their identity with Sanscrit ones must be determined. For instance, the Sanscrit *loka* does not correspond with the usual acceptation of the Latin *locus*, but precisely with this definition of the word given by Varro; — "Loca, secundum antiquam divisionem, prima duo, terra et cælum; deinde particulatim utriusque multa. *Cæli dicuntur loca supera, et ea deorum: terræ loca infera, et ea hominum.*" *Fundus*, also, is thus defined by Gesner; — "Proprie est ima pars uniuscujusque rei, quæ aliquid in se liquoris contineat, vel ad continendum facta sit;" and, consequently, it may be correctly identified with the Sanscrit *phanda*, the belly. Again, Gesner thus defines *fanum*; — "*Fanum* itaque secundum hæc differt a *Templo*, quod sit area templi et solum, *Templum* vero ædificium."

* It will, also, be observed that I have rejected many words which appear in comparative lists already published. But of the 429 given by Adelung seventy-eight are not Sanscrit, a good many have no such meaning as he ascribes to them, and the identity of numerous others cannot be admitted. For it is impossible to discover any correspondence in such words as these: — S. aascha, *desiderium*; Ger. heischen, *poscere*: S. ari, *hostis*; G. εχινυς: S. arun, *diluculum*; Heb. or, *lux*: S. deva, *deus*; G. δαιμων; Ger. teuf-el, *diabolus*: S. gula, *globus*; Heb. chul, *circumvolvendo ligat*: S. krida (kirita), *diadema*; Ger. kreis, *circulus*: S. mala, *mons*; Lat. mala: S. oschna (ushna), *calor*; Lat. æstus: S. ko-bilen (go-pala), *vaccarum custos*; Lat. Pales; G. A-πολλων: S. pascha, *animal*; G. βους; Lat. bos: S. surgo (swarga), *cœlum*; Lat. surgere. The identifications given by M. Klaproth are often equally objectionable; as, S. ania, *alius*; Ger. ander: S. vinasha, *exitium*, Lat. finis: S. dutia, *nuncium*; Eng. duty: S. sima, *meta*; Pers. semin, *terra*: S. veda, *lex sacra*; Lat. veto: S. lakhu (laghu), *levis*; Lat. levis; Ger. leicht: S. sajaka; Lat. sagitta: S. lalana, *oblectatio*; Lat. blandus: S. atma; Lat. anima: S. vanigia, *mercatura*; Lat. vendere, &c. Several, also, of the words given by M. Klaproth are not Sanscrit.

When, therefore, the construction of temples in sacred groves is adverted to, what can seem more probable than that *fanum* is the same word as the Sanscrit *wanam*, a grove.* But it is dangerous to indulge in such etymologies as these, for they too often merely mislead; and the etymologist, pleased with such seemingly ingenious identifications, is too apt to push them to the absurdest extreme.

It is, however, in tracing the origin of such words as the last, that etymology might be applied to the most philosophical of purposes. For, in the progress of civilisation and knowledge, all people have found it more convenient to employ words already in use for the expression of new ideas, than to invent new terms as they became requisite. Hence, by ascertaining the primitive word and its original signification, and then tracing it through all its modifications and varieties of meaning, the process by which a people has proceeded from the observation of sensible objects unto discrimination of the most subtle operations of the mind, or the precise point at which this process has stopped, may be investigated with the utmost certainty. In the same manner the progress which a nation has made in the useful and ornamental arts, and whether these have been invented in the country or received from strangers, are equally demonstrated by its language. But, hitherto, it has been in the investigation of SOUNDS and not of IDEAS that etymology has been employed, and the futility of such researches has scarcely received more ridicule than it justly merits.

In later years, also, a subject of investigation has been dignified with the appellation of the *philosophy* and even the *inductive philosophy* of language, which seems to me to be still more futile: for there are no data whatever from which the original formation of any one language can be ascertained; and, consequently, all opinions on the subject must rest entirely on conjectures, without there being any criterion by which their correctness could be determined. Such speculations, therefore, are a mere waste of time, because their results cannot

* At least this etymology must appear much more probable than this one given by Varro, — "Hinc fana nominata, quod pontifices in sacrando fati sint finem."

promote the increase or perfection of knowledge. Dr. A. Murray, however, observes with respect to *the indeclinable parts of speech*: — "The origin of this division of language was first explained by the able and philosophical enquiries of Horne Tooke. We are indebted to these for the recent discovery, that there are no words in language destitute of meaning, or without any signification save that which they derive from others. He was the first writer who applied the inductive philosophy to the history of speech, and the success equalled the expectations which might have been formed from his distinguished abilities." * But the slightest acquaintance with languages must incontrovertibly evince that, in their present state, all words are not derived from the NOUN and the VERB; and, if a language ever existed composed only of nouns and verbs, it must have been so rude and unformed as to be perfectly undeserving of consideration. On what grounds, also, is it assumed that it would be more easy for a people to corrupt the noun and verb into the other parts of speech than to invent them; or that the increments used for the inflection, or modification, of the primitive word must necessarily have been significant in themselves? For, until these two points be satisfactorily proved, the whole of Horne Tooke's system rests on no foundation whatever; and, consequently, before he applied his principles to the Gothic dialects, he ought to have established, by numerous instances adduced from various languages, that these principles were themselves correct and capable of universal application.

It must, at the same time, be admitted that Horne Tooke has supported his opinion with much ingenuity, and a very skilful selection of examples: but, as his colloquist very justly observes, — "Thus it is always with etymologists, when they chuse their own instances, their explanations run upon all fours; but they limp most miserably, when others quote the passages for them." † Every reader, indeed, of the Diversions of Purley must observe that Horne Tooke was ignorant of the languages of the East, and that he has even carefully refrained

* Hist. of European Languages, vol. ii. p. 1.

† Epea Pteroenta, vol. ii. p. 49.

from availing himself for the illustration of his remarks of so copious and perfect a tongue as the Greek. These circumstances alone are sufficient to excite doubts respecting the correctness of his hypothesis; and I may affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that he would have found it impossible to apply his principles, in the slightest degree, either to the Greek *, Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit languages; for in none of these would he have been able to trace every word to a noun or verb. This opinion is, at the same time, disproved by the internal evidence of all languages, in which many words exist in the state of adjectives without the idea expressed by them having been denoted by a noun or verb, or there having been any necessity for so denoting it; as for instance, *good*, *bad*, *long*, *short*, *sick*, *well*, *round*, *strait*, *quick*, *slow*, &c. † It seems equally evident that the pronoun expresses an idea which could never have been conveyed by a noun or a verb, and it is, therefore, impossible to understand how it could ever have been corrupted from either. On the contrary, it may be more reasonably supposed that the inconvenience of continually repeating the proper name of the speaker and the person addressed, or a third person, would have very soon occasioned the invention of a substitute for so tedious a mode of conversation.‡ If, also, the signs of the cases of nouns, and the terminations of the persons of verbs, had originally been words significant in themselves, and each of them had expressed but one determinate idea, what could possibly occasion the variety of inflections which now prevail in the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit nouns and verbs? It might, however, seem reasonable to suppose that, unless increments and particles had been originally significant in themselves, they could not have answered the purpose for which they were invented. But, unless a meaning can be discovered in English in the *y*

* Much of Horne Tooke's reasoning is founded on the use made of the past participles in forming such words as *right*, *just*, *wrong*, &c.; and yet the Greek has no such past participle.

† In the Maratha dialect, though abstract nouns may be formed from such adjectives, they are scarcely ever used.

‡ Horne Tooke has very skilfully confined himself to a few observations on the demonstrative pronouns *it* and *that*; but has not ventured to give any explanation of the origin of the personal pronouns.

by which nouns are rendered adjectives, as *greedy;* or in Persian in the izafat, *i. e.* in the *i* annexed to a noun in construction with another; or to the *y* in Sanscrit by which also nouns are rendered adjectives, as *nasha,* destruction, *nashya,* destructive; it might be more justly concluded that such increments were merely intended to indicate that the word to which they were added was, except in the case of a derivative noun, dependent on another word for its complete signification.*

As, however, I consider all conjectures on the formation of languages to be a mere waste of time, I have no intention of entering into a discussion respecting the prefixes, affixes, and particles, by which primitives in Sanscrit are modified and compounded. Nor is it necessary, because all comparison of languages must depend on their actual and not on their original state. Every people, also, have adopted different means for this purpose; and in no respect was Horne Tooke more egregiously mistaken, than in supposing that principles which might be applicable to the structure of the Gothic dialects, would be also applicable to that of all other languages. For it is precisely in the inflections, increments, and particles that changes would first begin to take place in the parent tongue of a people who had been originally the same, but who had separated and become distinct nations. These changes are very perceptible in the Gothic dialects; and, had not Horne Tooke been misled by a favourite hypothesis, he must have observed in them strong indications that their complete originality was very questionable, and that their grammatical structure no longer existed in its primitive state. These

* The anomalies, also, of most languages must prevent the possibility of reducing them to their simplest elements on any certain principles. For nothing seems more probable than that the cases of nouns were intended to denote those ideas of relation which are expressed in the Gothic dialects by prepositions; and such is actually their use in Sanscrit, in which *with, by, to, for, at, from, of, in, on,* are signified by the cases of nouns without the assistance of prepositions: but, why are the prepositions placed in construction, always in Greek and sometimes in Latin, with the cases of nouns, if these were really significant in themselves?

dialects, therefore, being derived from another tongue, and their original structure having been materially affected by the lapse of time, and by all the corruptions to which vernacular speech is invariably subject, were totally unadapted for furnishing any principles which could be universally applicable, and thus lead to just conclusions respecting the original formation of language.

Sanscrit, in particular, is much too ancient and too refined a language, to admit of its original formation being ever ascertained by the analysis of the letters and syllables of which its words and particles are composed. Nor, were it possible, can I understand that any benefit could possibly result from it; because, for all grammatical purposes, Sanscrit has been sufficiently analysed and reduced to the clearest principles, and the primitive and derivative meanings of its words may be traced with the greatest certainty. Whether, therefore, its inflections, increments, and particles were ever words significant in themselves, or the manner in which they were first invented and afterwards corrupted, are assuredly questions which deserve not consideration; as their most complete solution would not contribute in the slightest degree either to the more easy acquisition, or to the more perfect comprehension, of so copious and polished a language. It is the actual elegance and symmetry of an edifice which command admiration, and not the rude materials from which it was constructed; and the explorer of the elements from which languages have acquired their present refinement resembles much the man who, instead of gazing with awe and wonder on the church of St. Peter, should amuse himself by endeavouring to ascertain the nature of the cement and fastenings used in its erection. Such an analysis is equally unnecessary for the purpose of comparing one language with another; for, if the same inflections and particles exist in any two languages, this circumstance alone fully proves their affinity, and, consequently, any further enquiry into the origin of these inflections and particles becomes altogether useless. The preceding observations, therefore, will, perhaps, be sufficient to evince that, although considerable dif-

ference now exists in the structure of the Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Sanscrit languages, still such undeniable points of coincidence are discoverable even at this day in their grammatical systems, as, united to the 900 Sanscrit words still found in them, must render it in the highest degree probable that Sanscrit is the parent tongue from which the Greek, Latin, and Gothic languages have derived their origin.

LIST OF SANSCRIT WORDS

WHICH ARE FOUND IN

THE GREEK, LATIN, PERSIAN, GERMAN, AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
अफेनं	aphenam	οπιον	opium	afiun	opium	opium
अष्ट	ashta	οκτω	octo	hasht	acht	eight
अस्ति	asti	εστι	est	ast	ist	is
उपर	upar	ὑπερ	super	ābăr	ober	over
ऋछते	richate	ορεγεται *	porrigit †	răsăd	recket	reacheth
कलमं	ḳălămam	καλαμον	calamum	kălăm	kiel	quill
जानु	jānu	γονυ	genu	zānu	knie	knee
तारा	tārā	τειρεα / αστηρ	astrum / sidera	sitāra	stern	star
त्वं ‡	twam	συ τυ	tu	to	du	thou. A. S. thu
द्वि	dwi	δυω	duo	do	zwey	two
नखं	năkhăm	ονυχα	uhguem	năkhăn	nagel	nail
नवं	năwam	νεον	novum	nạu	neu	new
नवन्	năwan	εννεα	novem	năh	neun	nine
नाम	nāma	ονομα	nomen	nām	nahme	name

* The *o* is, perhaps, the Sanscrit prep. a, *ad*. † The *por* is, perhaps, the Sanscrit prep. pra, *pro*.
‡ In Pracrit, *tu*.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
नो	no	νη	non	nah	nein	no
पद्	pădăm	ποδα	pedem	pa	pfote	foot
पितृ	pitr	πατηρ	pater	pidăr	vater	father
भरते	bhărăte	φερεται	fert	bărăd	gebäret	beareth
भ्रातृ	bhrātr	φρατηρ	frater	birādăr	bruder	brother
मध्यं *	mădhyam	μεισον	medium	mian	mitte	mid
मशक	măshăka	μυια	musca	măgăs	mücke	midge
मातृ	mātr	μητηρ	mater	mādăr	mutter	mother
मिश्रयते †	mishrayate	μιξεται	miscet	amizad	mischet	mixeth
मूष	musha	μυς	mus	mush	maus	mouse
युगं	yugam	ζευγος	jugum	yugh	joch	yoke
लाकयते	lākăyăte	λειχεται	lingit	lăzăd	lecket	licketh
शर्कर	shărkăra	σαχχαρ	saccharum	shăkăr	zucker	sugar
शष	shash	ἑξ	sex	shash	sechs	six
सप्त	săpta	ἑπτα	septem	hăft	sieben	seven
स्थ	stha	ἱστα	sta	istad	steh	stay
स्वर	swăr	σφαιρα	sphæra	siphar	sphäre	sphere
अंतः	ăntah	εντος	intus			
अंतर	ăntarah		intra	ănder	unter	under
अंबरं	ămbăram	ομβρον	imbrem			
अंश	ămsha	ομος	ansa			
अक्ष	aksha	αξων	axis		achse	axis
अजते	ajate	αγεται	agit			
अजिरं	ajirum	αγρον	agrum		acker	acre
अदंति	ădanti	εδονται	edunt		essen	eat
अद्य	ădia	ηδη	hodie		heute	

* Prac. *maki*.

† In Prac. the *r*, when joined to another consonant, is generally omitted.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
अन्या	ănya	εννεοι αλλοι	alii			any
अप	ăpa	απο	ab		ab, auf	of, off away
अव	ăwa					
अविं	ăwim	οϊν	ovem			ewe
अश्रिं	ăshrim	ακην	aciem			
असौ	ăsau	ὁς	is			
अहं	ăhăm	εγων	ego		ich	I. A. S. ie
अस्थि	ăsthi	οστεον	os ossis			
आप्तं	aptum	απτεσθαι	aptare			
आयुं	āyum	αιων	ævum			
आलयं	ālăyam	αυλην	aulam		halle	hall
आष्ट	ashtra	αιθηρ	æther			
आत्मा	atma	ατμος			athem	
इत	ita	ιτε	ite			
इति	iti	ειτα	ita			
इतरं	itarum	ἑτερον				other
इरिणं	irinum	ερημον	eremum			
उत्तं	uttam	ὑετον	udum			wet
उद्र	udra		lutra		otter	otter
उधस्	udhas*	ουθαρ			euter	udder
उप	upa	ὑπο	sub			
उभौ	ubhau	αμφω	ambo			
उरं	urum	ευρυν			ur	
उल्कः	ulkah †	ἑλκος	ulcus			
करत्रं	karatram	κρατηρα	craterem			
कलते	kălăte	κελεται	callet			

* The final *s* is often changed into *r*.

† Flame, fire.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
कलशं	kălăsham	καλαθον κυλικα	calathum calycem		kelch	chalice
कुंभि	kumbhi	κυμβη	cymba			
कुल	kula	αγελη		gillah		
कुपां	kupam *		cupam		kufe	coop
कृत्ति	krĭttih	σκυτος	cutis			
क्रमिलं	krimilam	καμηλον	camelum		kamel	camel
क्व	kwa		quo	ku		
खिलं	khilam	κοιλον	cœlum			
गल	gălă		gula	gălu	kehle	gullet
गुरं	guram	γυρον	gyram			
ग्रासाते	grasate	γραβεται				grazeth
घर्म्मं	ghărmam	θερμον		gărm	warm	warm
च	cha	και	que			
चुरति	churăti		urit			charreth
चुषयति	chusăyăti		sugit	chusăd	sauget	sucketh
चोर	chora	φωρ	fur			
जनितृ	janitr	γεννητωρ	genitor			
ज्ञातं	gnātam	γνωτον	notum			
तक्षते	tăkshăte	στεγεται	tegit		decket	theciath A. S.
स्थगते	stăgăte					
तनुं	tănum		tenuem	tănăk	dünne	thin
तपति	tăpăti		tepet	tābăd		
तर्मन्	tărmăn		terminus		termin	term
तानं	tānăm	τονον	tonum		ton	tone
त्रिः	trih	τρες	tres		drey	three
दंतं	dăntăm	οδοντα	dentem	dăndām	zahn	

* A receptacle.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
दक्ष	dăkshah	δεξιος	dexter			
ददामि	dădāmi	διδωμι	do	dādăm		
दातृ	dātr	δοτηρ	dator	dādār		
दानं	dānam	δάνος	donum			
दश	dăsha	δεκα	decem	dăh		
दशमं	dăshamam		decimum	dăhăm		
दामायते	dāmāyăte	δαμαεται	domat		zahmet	tameth
दिव्यं	diwiam	διον	divum			
दिशते	dishăte	δοκεται	docet			
दुहितृ	duhitr	θυγατηρ		dokhtar	tochter	dochter, Scot.
देवं	dewam	θεον	deum			
देहं	deham	δεμας		ăndām		
धरा	dhărā	ἐρα	terra			
धाम	dhāma	δωμα	domus			
नक्तं	năktam	νυκτα	noctem			
नभस	năbhăsa	νεφος	nubes			
नद्धं	năddham		nodum		knoten	knot
नावं	năwăm	ναυν	navem	nau		
नासा	năsā		nasus		nase	nose
पतिं	pătim *	ποσιν	potem	bŭd		
पथं	pătham	πατον			pfade	path
पदातं	pădātam		peditem	piādăh		
प्रछति	prăchăti		poposci	porsăd	fraget	
पप्रछ	papracha					
परू	păru	πυρ			feuer	fire
पर्दते	părdăte	βδεεται	pedit			farteth

* A lord, a husband.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
पात्रं	pātram	ποτηρα	paterem			
पितं	pitam	ποτον	potum			
पिवते	piwăte	πιεται	bibit			
पुत्रं	putram		puerum	pur		
पुयं	puyam	πυον	pus			
पुरस्	purăs	παρος	præ		vor	fore
पुरिं	purim	πολιν				burh, A. S.
प्र	pră	προ	pro			
प्रान्त	prānta		frontem		fronte	front
प्रोषते *	proshăte	πρηθεται		afruzăd		
प्लवते	plăwăte	πλουεται	lavat			
प्लिहन्	plihan	σπλην	lien			spleen
प्साते	psāte	ψαεται				
फुल्लं	phullam	φυλλον	folium			
भक्षयते	bhăkshăyăte	βοσκεται	pascit			
भवते	bhăwăte	φυεται	fuit	băwăd		beeth. A.S.beoth
भूमि	bhumi	χαμαι	humus	bum		
भ्रजते	bhrăjate	φρυγεται	frigit			
भ्रूः	bhruh	οφρυς		abru	braune	brow
मदते	mădăte	μεθυεται	madet			
मधु	mădhu †	μεθυ		mai	meth	mead
मनते	mănăte	μναεται	monet		meynet	meaneth
मनस्	mănăs	μενος	mens, tis			
महत्वः	măhătwăh	μεγεθος			macht	might
महाः	măhāh	μεγας	magnus	mah		
मह्यं	măhuim	μοι	mihi		mich	

* The root is प्रुष prush.

† Spirituous liquor; also honey.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
मे	me	με	me			me
मास	māsa	μεις	mens, sis			
मितं	mitam		metitum			meted
मिर	mira		mare		meer	mere A. S.
मृतं	mritam		mortuum	murdah		
यं यां	yăm, yām	ον, ην	eum, eam			
यत्	yăt		id			it
युंजंति	yunjănte	ζευγνυνται	jungunt			
युवनः	yuwănah		juvenis	juwān	jung	young
रथं	rătham	ῥεδην	rhedam			
रस	răsăh	ερσή	ros			
राग	rāga	ὀργη			rasen	rage
रोष	rosha					
रुजते	rujate	ρησσεται			reisset	
रोहितं	rohitam	ερευθον			roth	red
लपन	lăpăna *		labium	lab	lippe	lip
लिप्तं	liptam	αλειφθεν	litum			
लुभ्यति	lubhiăte		lubet		liebet	loveth. A. S. lufath
लोचयति	lochăyăti		lucet			A. S. lixeth
वक्षते	wăkshăte	αεξεται	auget		wachset	waxeth
वमते	wămăte	εμεται	vomat		vomiret	vomiteth
वराहः	wărāhăh		verres			boar. A. S. bare
वस्त्ययति	wăstyăyăti		vastat		wüstet	wasteth
वहते	wăhăte	οχεεται	vehit			
वाचं	wāchăm	οσσαν	vocem			
विदंति	widănti	ειδονται	vident		weissen	A. S. witon

* The mouth.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
विधवा	widhăwā		vidua	biwā	witwe	widow
विना	winā	ανευ	sine		ohne	
विरः	wirah	ἠϱως	vir			A. S. wer, fira
वेपते	wepaṭe	ὑφαεται		bafad	webet	weaveth
शङ्खं	shăṅkham	κογχην	concham			
शतं	shătam	εκατον	centum	săd		
शाल	shāla	σχολη	schola		schule	school
शृंग	shringa		cornu	sarun	horn	horn
संतः	săntah		sanctus			saint
सम्	săm	συν	cum	hăm		
सर्पते	sărpăte	ἑϱπεται	serpit			
सामि	sāmi	ἡμι	semis			
सिवति	siwăti		suit			seweth
सीदति	sidăti		cedet			cedeth
सेरु	seru *	σειϱα	serra			
स्तृनुते	strinute	στϱωννυται	sternet			
स्वप्नं	swăpnam		somnum			
स्वनितं	swănitam		sonitum			sound
स्वियं यां यं	swiăm, ām, ăm	εον, ειην, εον	suum, am, um			
हनु †	hănum	γενυν		chāṅăh	kinn	chin
हयनं	hăyănam	ενιον	annum			
हिमं	himăm ‡	χειμα	hyemem			
होर	hora	ὡϱα	hora		uhr	hour
हृदयं	hrădayam	καϱδια	cor, cordis		herz	heart
ह्लादति	hlādăti		lætatur			gladdeth
अंके	anke	αγχι				

* Binding. † Jaw. ‡ Frost, cold.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
अंत्रं	ăntram	εντερον				
अंब्लं	amblam	αμβλον				
अकं	akam	αχος				
अग्रं	agram	αρραν				
अघं	agham	αγος				
अजं	ajam	αιγα				
अति	ati	αδην				
अदशत्	ădăshat	εδακε				
अधि	adhi	αδια				
अध्वं	ădhwam	οδον				
अनय	anaya	ανια				
अपरं	ăpăram	απειρον				
अमा	amā	αμα				
आराम	ārāma *	αρωμα				
अरामते	arāmăte	ηρεμεεται		arāmĭd		
अर्चते	archăte	αρχεται				
अर्जुनं	arjunam	αργον				
अर्थयते	arthăyăte	αιτεεται				
अर्य	aria	αριστον				
अरिष्टं	arishtam					
अलं	ălăm	αλις				
अवरोहते	awărohăte	βρυεται				
अस्यते	asiăte	αισσεται				
आग्रहं	āgrăham	αγραν				
आदिनवं	ādinăwam	οδυνην				
आद्रियति	adriyate	αιδεεται				

* A garden.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
आपादते	āpādăte	οποδεεται				
आफलमान	aphălămāna	ωφελιμον				
आमं	āmăm	ωμον				
आर्द्र	ārdra	αρδεται				
आरावं	ārāwam	αραβον				
आरः	ā́rah *	αρης				
आलं	ālam	ολον				
आसन्न	āsănna	ασσον				
आस्ते	āstė	εζεται				
इद्धे	iddhe	αθει				
इरा	irā	ερα				
इषु	ishu	ιος				
ईडयते	idayate	ἀδεται				
ईतिं	itim	οιτον				
ईरयते	irayate †	ρεεται				
उच्चं	uchcham	υψον				
उदं	udăm	υδωρ				
उर्णा	urna	εριον				
उष	usha	εος				
उर्म्मिं	urmim	ορμην				
उर्वीरां	urwărām	αρουραν				
उहते	uhăte	οιεται				
एकतरं	ekătăram	εκατερον				
ओकं	okam	οικον				
ओजं	ojam	αὐγην				
कंटकं	kantakam	ακανθην				

* The planet Mars.

† Speaks.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
कपालं	kăpālam	κεφαλην				
कर	kăra	χειρ				
अकर	ăkăra	αχειρ				
कर्करं	kărkăram	καρχαρον				
कल्यं	kălyăm	καλον				
कस्तिरं	kăstiram	κασσιτερον				
कालं	kālam	κελαν				
किरते	kirăte	κερασται				
किलते	kilate	κηλεεται				
किलुष	kilusha	κηλις				
किलं	kilam	ἡλον				
कुंड	kunda *	κονδυ				
कुटिः	kutih	κυτεος				
कुलायं	kulāyam	καλιαν				
कुमं	kumam †	κυμα				
कोणं	konam	γοναν				
क्रव्यं	krăwiam	κρεας				
क्रुरं	kruram	κρυερον				
क्षणुते	kshăuti	καινεται				
क्षोणी	kshoni	χθων				
खलिनं	khălinam	χαλινον				
खेदः	khedah	κηδος				
खोलं	kholam	χολον				
गां	gām	γην, γαν				
गिरां	giram	γηρυν				
गुरं	guram	κυριον				

* A pitcher.

† A lake.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
घोरं	ghoram	γαυρον				
चर्म्म	chărma	δερμα		chărm		
छाया	chāya	σκια		sāyah		
क्षुरते	churate	ξυρεται				
जगर्त	jăgărte	εγειρεται				
जनी	jăni	γυνη		zăn		
जिराः	jirāh	γηρας				
जिवते	jiwătė	ζηται		ziăd		
जिर्ण	jirna	γερων				
तं तां	tăm, tām	τον, την				
तनोते	tanote	τεινεται			dehnet	
तर्पते	tărpăte	τερπεται				
तिजते	tijate	θηγεται		tizăd		
तोकं	tokam	τοκον				
त्रश्यते	trăshiate	τρεσεται		tărzăd		
त्रासयते	trāsăyăte	ταραασσεται				
त्रिखते	trikhate	τρεχεται				
दास	dāsa	θης				
दाहते	dāhăte	δαιεται				
दुस्	dus	δυς				
दुयते	duyate	δυαεται				
देवरं	dewăram	δαηρ				
दृशं	drisham	δερξιν				
द्राते	drāte	δραεται				
द्रुं	drum	δρυν				
धोनयते	dhonăyăte	δονεεται				
णः	năh	νοος				

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
नेदते	nedăte	ονειδιεται				
नयते	năyăte	νεεται				
नर	năr ă	ανηρ		năr		
नीरं	nīram *	νηρον				
नेमं	nemăm	νομον				
पचते	păchăte	πεσσεται		păzăd		
पतते	pătăte	πιπτεται				
पत्रं	pătrăm	πτερον				
पथते	păthăte	πατεεται				
पन्यं	păniam	πονον				
पारयते	pārăyăte	περαεται				
परा	părā	παρα				
परि	pări	περι				
परूत्	părut	περυσι				
पारं	pārăm	περαν				
पालन्	pālăn	βαλην				
पाषं	pāshăm	παγην				
पिवं	piwăm	πιον				
पुरस्	purăs	προς				
पेलते	pelăte	πελεται				
प्रधान	prădhānă	πρυτανις				
प्रस्तरं †	prăstărăm	πετρον				
प्लुषते	plushate	φλεξεται				
बिभेते	bibhete	φεβοται			bebet	
बालकं	bhālăkăm	παλλακα				
भक्षते	bhăkshăte	φαγεται				

* Water.

† In Pracrit, *păthăr*.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
भल्लिः	bhăllih	βελος				
भारं	bhārăm	βαρον				
भालयते	bhālăyăte	βαλλεται				
भृतिं	bhritim	βροτον				
मंत्रं	măntrăm	μαντιν				
मतिं	mătim	μητιν				
मन्यं	măniam	μηνιν				
मर्कटं	mărkătăm	μαραγδον				
मलतुरं	mălăturam	μελαθρον				
मलिनं	mălinăm	μελαν				
मस्तक	măstăkă	μαστακα				
महागारं*	măhāgārăm	μεγαρον				
मा	mā	μη				
आमर्क्षते†	āmărkshiăte	ομορξεται				
मुखं	mukhăm	μυχον				
मुरं	murăm	μωρον				
मुर्खं	murkham	μαργον				
मृणते	mrinăte	μαρνεται				
मेधते	medhăte	μεδεται				
मेलं	melăm	ομιλον				
मोघः	moghah	μογις				
मोहिते	mohite	μαεται				
यवन	yăwănă	ιαων				
रचयते	răchăyăte	ρεξεται				
रीयते	riyate	ρεεται				
लघुं	laghum	ελαχυν				

* Măhăt āgāram, a great house.

† The initial *a* is a preposition.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
लघिष्ठं	laghishtam	ελαχιστον				
लप्स्यते	lăpsiăte	ληψεται				
लय	lăyă	λεια				
लवनं	lăwănăm	ληιον				
लुप्यते	lupiăte	λυπεεται				
वयस्	wăyăs	βιος				
वरयते	wărăyăte	αρεεται				
वाग्मि	wāgmi	βαγμα				
वाणिं	wānim	φωνην				
वाते	wāte	αεται			wehet	
वातिं	wātim	αητην		bād		
वादं	wādăm	αυδην				
वेष्यते	weshiăte	βησεται				
शंकुः	shănkuh	εγχος				
शकयते	shăkăyăte	σωκεεται				
शुन्यं	shuniăm	κενον				
शेते	shete	κειται		asaid		
समं	sămăm	ομον				
सित्यं	sityăm	σιτον				
सीमा *	simā	σημα				
सु	su	ευ				
सुरंग	surăngă	σηραγγα				
सेवते	sewăte	σεβεται				
स्तोमं †	stomăm	στομα				
स्थावरं	sthāwărăm	στιβαρον				
स्थिरं	sthirăm	στερεον				

* A landmark, a boundary.

† The head.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
स्फरते	sphărăte	σπαιρει				
स्फलते	sphălăte	σφαλλεται				
हरते	hărăte	αἱρεεται				
हेतु	hetu	αιτια				
हेलिं	helim	ἡλιον				
अंतगं	ăntăgăm		antiquum			
अंजंति	ănjănte		unguunt			
अंतमं	ăntămăm		intimum			
अंतरितं	ăntărităm		interitum			
अंवितं	ănwităm		unitum			
अंबति	ămbăti		ambit			
अग्निं	ăgnim		ignem			
अरति	arăti		ira, iratus			
अर्जति	ărjăti		urget			
अर्थं	ărthăm		artem			
अवगितं	ăwăgităm		abjectum			
अवति	ăwăti		avet			
असिं	ăsim		ensem			
आप्लुतं	āplutăm		ablutum			
आस्यं	āsiăm		os, oris			
अरस्य	ărăsiă		æris		erz	
इदं	idăm		idem			
इवति	iwăti		ivit			
उत्तमं	uttămăm		optimum			
उदरं	udărum		uterum			
उल्वं	ulwăm		alvum			
उर्वीं	urwim		arvum			
पथ	puth					a path

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
उषितं	ushităm		ustum			
उद्धवं	urdhăwăm		arduum			
ऋक्ष	rikshă		ursus	khirs		
ऋ	rhă		Rhea			
एरकं	erăkăm		ariem,hircum			
कं	kăm		aquam			
कं काम्	kăm, kām		quem, quam			
कणति	kănăti		canit			
कति	kăti		quot			
कद्ति	kădăti		cædit			
करोति	kărŏti		gerit			
कर्पासं	kărpāsum		carbasum			
कर्म्मण् *	karman		carmen			
कलुक	kălukă		caligo			
काठं	kātăm		cautem			
कारागारं	kārāgărăm		carcerem			
कित्	kit		quot			
कियतं तां	kiyăṭăm, tām		quantum,tam			
कुलं †	kulăm		cellam			
कूलं	kulăm		collem			
कूलति	kulăti		celet			
कृच्छ्रं	krichrăm		crucem			
केतयति	ketăyăti		citat			
केश	keshă		cæsaries ‡			
खंउति	khăndăti		scindit			
खरं	khărăm		acrem			

* An incantation. † An abode.

‡ Keshara also occurs in Sanscrit, but it signifies the filaments of a plant.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
खेतं	khetăm		scutum			
ग्रवं	grăwăm		gravem			
चंडति	chăndăti		candit			
चक्वति	chăkwăti		coquit			
चतुर्	chătur		quatuor			
चिकेते	chikete		scit			
जंतं	jăntăm		gentem			
जनितं	jănităm		genitum			
जर्जति	jărjăti		jurgat			
तंडति	tăndăti		tundit			
तंतं	tăntăm		tentam			
तर्जति	tărjăti		turget			
तात	tātă		tata			
तुल्यं	tuliăm		talem			
तेजति *	tejăti		tegit			
दमितं	dămităm		domitum			
दरितं	dărităm		territum			
दिवं †	diwăm		divum			
दिवस	diwăsă		dies			
दिवस्पतिः	diwăspătih		divespiter			
दूर्बलं	durbălăm		debilem			
दोलयति	dolăyăti		tollit			
नः	năh		nos			
नतं	nătăm		nutum			
नप्तृं	năptăm		nepotem			
नागं	nāgăm		anguem			

* Protects. † Sky, day.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
नाशं	nāshăm		nex necem			
नीदं	nidăm		nidum			
पंदति	păndăti		pandit			
पटलं	pătălăm		patulum			
पद्यति	pădăyăti		vadat			
परं	părăm		purum			
परमं	părămăm		primum			
परितं	părităm		peritum			
परूष	părushă		ferox			
पलति	pălăti		alit			
पशु	păshu		pecu			
पश्चात्	păschat		post			
परयति	părăyăti		parit			
पिंक्ति	pinkti		pingit			
पिनष्टि	pinăshti		pinsit			
पिष्टं	pishtăm		pistum			
पुतं	putăm		putam			
पैत्रं	paitrăm		patrium			
पोलति	polăti		pollet			
प्लवति	plăwăti		fluit			floweth
फंडं	phăndăm		fundum			
बलं *	bălăm		bellum			
बल्हति	bălhăti		valet			
बाहिः	bāhih		foris			
बिभेद	bibhedă		fidi			
बेलयति	belăyăti		vellit			

* An army.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
भरितं	bhărităm		viridem			
मंडति	măndăti		mandat			
मयति	măyăti		meat			
मरितं	mărităm		mortem			
मृत्यं	mritiăm					
महियः	măhiyăh		majus			
मिनाति	mināti		minuit			
मुरं *	murăm		murum			
रदति	rădăti		radit			
राजं	rājăm		regem			
राज्ञीं	rāgnim		reginam			
राजति	rājăti		radiat			
रायं	rāyăm		rem			
रीतिं	ritim		ritum			
रेणुं	renum		arenam			
रोमन्थ	romănthă		ruminatio			
लदति	lădăti		ludit			
लिनायति	lināyati		lenit			
लोकं	locăm		locum			
लोकयति	lokăyăti		loquitur			
विंशति	wimshăti		viginti			
वः	wăh		vos			
वत्	wăt		ut			
वरं †	wărăm		virum			
वर्म्म	wărmă		arma			
वर्म्मितं	wărmităm		armatum			

* Encircling.

† A husband.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
वलति	wălăti		velat			
वस्ते	wăste		vestit			
वस्त्रं	wăstrăm		vestem			
वर्तति	wărtăti		vertit			
वादीं	wādim		vatem			
वामनी	wāmăni		fœmina			
विजितं	wijităm		victum			
वेदति	wedăti		di-vidit			
शंसति	shămsăti		censet			
शदति	shădăti		cadit			
शुद्धं	shuddhăm		sudum			
शुषति	shushăti		siccat			
शुल्वारीं	shulwārim		sulphurem			
श्लुतं	shlutăm		solutum			
श्वशुरं	shwăshurăm		socerum		schwäher	
संक्तं	săṅktăm		cinctum			
सख्यं	săkhyăm		socium			
सङ्गं	săgnăm		signum			
चिह्नं	chihnăm					
सपति	săpăti		sapit			
समं	sămăm		summum			
सुदति	sudăti		sudat			
सूर्य्यं	suriăm		solem			
स्कंदति	scăndăti		scandit			
स्तनयति	stănăyăti		tonat			
स्तरिमन्	stărimăn		stramen			
स्पृतं	sprităm		spiratum			

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
स्पृहं	sprihăm		spem			
स्पृहति	sprihăti		sperat			
स्फितं	sphităm		fœtum			
स्वं	swăm		suum			
स्वरं	swărăm		su-surrum			
स्वादति	swādăti		suadet			
स्वानं	swānăm		sonum			
स्वापति	swāpăti		sepit			
होर	horă		hora			
अंगुष्ट	ăngushtă			angusht		finger
अंजिर	ănjiră			anjir		fig
अंबर	ămbără			ambar	ambra	AMBER
अनिशं	ănishăm			hamishah		always
आपः	āpăh			āb		water
आभा	ābhā			āb		splendour
अरण्यं	ărănium			weirānăh		a desert
अर्घयति	ărghăyăti			arjad		it costs
अर्च	ărchă			arj		respect
अमुं	ămum			an		that
अलु	ălu			alu		an edible root
अवि ताप*	ăwi, tāpă			āftāb		the sun
अशनं	ăshănăm			āsh	essung	food
अश्व	ăshwă			asp		horse
अश्वतर	ăshwătără			astăr		mule
आपत्	āpăt			āfāt.		calamity
आपति	āpăti			yābăd		obtains

* Two words; *awi*, the sun, and *tapa*, heat.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
आशा	āshā			āz		desire
आशिर्	āshiră			āz		fire.
आहार	āhāră			āhār		food
इमं	imăm			in		this
उष्त्र	ushtră			ushtăr		camel
ऋक्थ	rikthă			răkht		valuables
एक	ekă			ek		one
कंस	kănsă			kās		goblet
कछप	kăchăpă			kăshăf		tortoise
कपि	kăpi			kappi		monkey
कपोतः	kăpotăh			kabutar		pigeon
कफ	kăphă			kăf		foam
करोति	kăroti			kărd		does, has done
कर्द*	kărdă			gird †		
कर्पूर	kărpură			kafur		camphor
काम	kāmă			kām		love
कार्य्य	kāriă			kār		affair
कुंजर	kunjără			kinjar		elephant
कुंभ	kumbhă			khum		a jar
कुब्ज	kubjă			kuzh		humpbacked
कुशल	kushălă			khush		happy
कुरति	kurăti			khorad		eats
केतः	ketăh			kăd		house
कृष्ट	krishtă			kāshtăh		tilled
क्रिमि	krimi			kirm	wurm	WORM
क्रीतः	krităh			kheridah		purchased

* Mud, clay.

† Dust.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
क्रोष	kroshă			kăruh		a coss
क्रोशति	kroshăti			khărushăd	kreischet	CROAKETH
क्षप	kshăpă			shăb		night
क्षिर	kshiră			shir		milk
क्षोभति	kshobhăti			ashubad		agitates
शोण	shonă			khun		blood
खड्ग	khădgă			kărg		rhinoceros
खंड	khăndă			kand		any thing which CANDIES
खनति	khănăti			kanad		digs
खर	khără			khar		ass
खल	khălă			gil		earth
खषति	khăshăti			kushad		kills
खष्प	khăshpă			khashm		anger
खानि	khāni			kān		a mine
खुषति	khushăti			kăshăd		draws
गंज	gănjă			gănj		treasure
गंधक	găndhăkă			gandak		brimstone
गज	găjă			gaz		a cubit
गम*	gămă			gam †		
गर्जति	gărjăti			gharid		makes a loud noise
गर्हति	gărhăti			girad		seizes
गवेषयति	găweshăyăti			kushad		endeavours
गह्वर	găhwără			gabara		cavern
गुण	gună			gun		colour
गुहा	guhā			gau		a cave
गोधुमः	godhumăh			gandum		wheat

* Going.

† A step.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
गौः	gauh			gav	kuhe	COW
चक्र	chăkră			chirkh		wheel
चमस	chămăsă			chamchah		spoon
चर्वति	chărwăti			kayad	kauet	CHAWETH
चिनोति	chinoti			chinad		gathers
चुव्र	chuwră			chihrah		countenance
छत्र	chătră			chatar		umbrella
जंजति	jănjăti			jangad	zanket	fights
जगति	jăgăti			giti		the world
जातः	jātăh			zādah		born
जामाता	jāmātā			dāmād		son in law
जिह्वं	jihwăm			zibān		the tongue
जूति	jūti			zudi		quickness
जेहति	jehăti			jăhad		makes exertions
ज्या	jiā			zāh		bowstring
तंजति	tănjăti			tanjad		tightens
तनु	tănu			tan		the body
तम	tămă			tam		darkness
ताप	tāpă			tab		heat
तीरं	tīrăm			tir		arrow
त्रस	trăsă			tars		fear
दवति	dăwăti			dawad		runs
दाम*	dāmă			dam†		
दारु‡	dāru			dar§		
दीर्घ	dirgha			dir		slow
दुहंति	duhănti			dozand		they milk

* A cord. † A snare. ‡ Wood, timber. § A gibbet.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
दूर	dură			dur		distant
दोषा	doshā			dosh		arm, and also night
धमति	dhămăti			damad		breathes
धरति	dhărăti			darad		holds
धान्य	dhāniăh			danah		grain
नग्न	năgnă			nangin		naked
नमति	năməti			namad		bends
नमस्य	năməsiă			namaz		prayer
नाभि	nābhi			naf, nab	nabe	NAVE
निहितः	nihităh			nihādah		placed
पंच	păncha			panch		five
पंडा	păndā			pand		advice
पक्तुं	păktum			pukhten		to cook
परेद्यवि	părediăwi			firda		to-morrow
पसति	păsăti			bast		ties, tied
पार्ष्णि	pārshni			pashnah		the heel
पावक	pāwăkă			pak		pure
पीलु	pilu			pil		elephant
पुषयति	pushăyăti			pushad		covers
पूर	pură			pur		full
पृष्ट	prishtă			pusht		the back
प्रताप	prătāpă			partab		beaming
प्रेषति	preshăti			firistad		sends
बंधयति	băndhăyăti			bandah-	bindet	BINDETH
बर्हि	bărhă			barz		greatness
बलवान्	bălăwān			păhlwān		powerful
बाहु	bāhu			bazu		the arm

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
बुक्क	bukkă			boz	bocke	he-goat
भानु*	bhānu			banu †		
भीम	bhimă			bim		fear
भूमी	bhumi			bhum		the ground
भेषज‡	bheshăjă			bazashk §		
मज्जज	măjajă			măghz		the brain
मर्त्य	mărttiă			mard		man
मर्षति	mărshăti			amuzad		forgives
महिष	măhishă			gav, mish		buffalo
माः	māh			mah		moon
मार‖	māră			mar †		
माष	māshă			mash		a kind of pulse
मिहिर	mihiră			mihr		the sun
मुद्रा	mudrā			muhar		signet-ring
मुष्टि	mushti			musht		fist
मृग**	mrigă			murgh ††		
मेघ	meghă			megh		cloud
यव	yăwă			jau		barley
रंग	răngă			rang		paint
रज्जु	răjju			razhah		a cord
रवति	răwăti			rawad		goes
रहस्यं	răhăsiăm			raz		a secret
राद्ध	rāddhă			rad		accomplished
राम	rāmă			ram		pleased
रिक्तः	riktăh			rikhtah		poured out
रिष	rishă			rish		wound

* A prince. † A princess. ‡ Medicine. § A physician.
‖ Killing. † A snake. ** An animal. †† A bird.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
रोचते	rochăte			rakhshad		shines
रोचनं	rochănăm			roshan		splendour
रोहति	rohăti			ruad		grows
लंगति	lăngăti			langad		limps
लक्ष	lăkshă			lāk		a lack, 100,000
वंन्दिः	wăndih			bandah		prisoner
वत्सः	wătsăh			bachah		child
वर्जति	wărjăti			warzad		quits
वर्ष	wărshă			bārish		rain
वल्गां	wălgām			ligām		bridle
वारक	wārăkă			barah		horse
व्यासति	wiāsăti			pashad		diffuses
शक	shăkă			shaka		doubt
शकुन	shăkună			shagun		omen
शस्तक	shăstăkă			shast		archer's guard for the arm against the bowstring.
शाख	shākhă			shakh		branch
शाण	shānă			shan		whetstone
शात	shātă			shad		glad
शिर	shiră			sar		the head
शुभ	shubhă			khub	hübsch	beautiful
शुष्क	shushkă			khushk		dry
शूकर	shukără			khuk		hog
शूर	shură			shir		lion
शृणोति	shrinoti			shunad		hears
शोक	shokă			sog		grief
श्याम	shiāmă			siah		black
श्वेत	shwetă			săfid		white

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
सज्ज	săjjă			saz		apparatus
सर्षप	sărshăpă			sarshap		mustard seed
सहस्र	săhăsră			hazar		thousand
सादः	sādăh			sadah		pure
सायं	sāyăm			sham		evening
सार	sāră			sar		excellent
सूदते	sudăte			sudad		injures
सृष्टः	shrishtăh			sirishtah		created
स्तुतः	stutăh			situdah		praised
स्थूरी	sthuri			situr		beast of burden
स्थानं	sthānăm			stan		place
स्थूणा	sthunā			situn		pillar
स्फुर	sphură			sipar		shield
स्यद्	siădă			zud		quick
हस्त	hăstă			dast		hand
हार	hāră			har		necklace
अंक	ănkă				hanke	HAUNCH
अंगज	ăngăjă				angst	ANGUISH
अक्षि	ăkshi				auge	eye
अर्भ*	ărbhă				erbe†	
अश्रु	ăshru				zähre	a tear
आयसं	āyăsăm				eisen	iron
उक्षा	ukshā				ochse	ox
उभयत	ubhăyătă				beide	BOTH
उलूक	ulukă				eule	OWL
उष	ushă				ash	a pot

* Child.

† An heir.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
कन्य *	kăniă				kivino † M. G.	
कुस्यति ‡	kusiăti				küsset	KISSETH
गाढ	gāră				gar	very
गाति	gāti				gehet	GOETH
गौर	găură				grau	white
घास	ghāsă				gras	GRASS
चर्म्म §	chărmă				schirm ‖	
चल्लि	chălli				schale	SHELL
चिछेद्	chichedă				schiede	divided
चिनति	chinătti				schneidet	cuts
जाल	jālă				zahl	number
तुउति	tudăti				tödtet	kills
तृष्यति	trăshiăti				durstet	THIRSTETH
दलति	dălăti				theilet	DÆLATH, ** A.S.
दिव्यति	diwiăti				taget	DÆGIATH, ‡ A.S.
द्राखितं	drākhităm				trocken	dry
ध्वनति	dhwănăti				donnet	dinneth
ध्वनि	dhwăni				don	din
पलति	pălăti				fliehet	FLEETH
पोत	potă				boot	BOAT
फुल्लति	phullăti				blühet	BLOWETH, like a flower
बदति	bădăti				badet	BATHETH
बहुल	băhulă				viel	much
भंग	bhăngă				bange	fear
भद्र	bhădră				bieder	good
भुजति	bhujăti				beuget	BOWETH ‡‡

* A young girl. † A woman. ‡ Embraces. § A shield.
‖ A screen. ** Divides. ‡ Becomes day, dawneth. ‡‡ Utters.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
भूषति	bhushăti				putze	BUSKS, Scot.
मनुष्य	mănushiă				mensch-heit	mankind
मर्चति	mărchăti				marschirt	MARCHETH
मर्द्धति	mărddhăti				mordet	murders
मानव	mānăwă				mann	MAN
मुंड *	mundă				mund †	
मुद्	mudă				muth	MOOD
मोह्	mohă				muhe	pain, trouble
मौलि ‡	măuli				maul §	
रखति	răkhăti				reget	moves
रोम	romă				ram	strength
लषति	lăshăti				lüstert	LUSTETH
वंश ‖	wămshă				binse **	
वर्तति	wărtăti				werde	WEORTH, A. S.
वल्क †	wălkă				balg ‡‡	
वर्दरं	wărdărăm				wasser	WATER
वह्निं	wăhnim				fon, M. G.	fire
वास	wāsă				haus	HOUSE
वाहनं	wāhănăm				wagen	WAIN
विंदति	windăti				findet	FINDETH
विवाह्	wiwāhă				ehe	marriage
वेग	wegă				wege	WAY
वेणाति	wenāti				wahnet	WEENETH
वेल	welă				weile	WHILE (time)
सूनु	sunu				sohn	SON. A. S. SUNU
स्तंभ	stămbhă				stumpf	stupid

* The head. † The mouth. ‡ The head. § The mouth.
‖ A bamboo. ** A rush. † The bark of a tree. ‡‡ Skin, husk.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
स्थलं	sthălăm				stelle	STALL
स्थिर	sthiră				stier	a steer
स्योन	sionă				sonne	sun
स्वस्तृ	swăstri				schwester	sister
हंस	hămsă				gans	goose
होलति	holăti				hüllet	covers
अट	ătă					wathe, A. S.*
अर्दति	ărdăti					hurteth
अलस	ălăsă					lazy
अवेश	ăwesh					awise, A. S.†
आवलि	āwăli					alley
इद्ध	iddhă					heat
ऋत	rită					right
करायति	kărāyăti					gars, Scot.‡
कल्पति	kălpăti					clyppath, A.S.§
कुट	kută					cot, cottage
कुट्टयति	kuttăiăti					cutteth
कुयति	kuyăti					cooeth
कुरल	kurulă					curl
कोमल	komălă					comely
क्वेलति	kwelăti					quaileth
क्षुरति	kshurăti					scoureth
खलति	khălăti					culleth
खारी	khāri					scar
ख्याति	khiāti					quoth
गण	gănă					ganoh, A. S.‖

* Wandering. † Disponor. ‡ Makes to do.
§ Apprehends. ‖ Multitude.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
गति	găti					gait
गर्द्ध	gărdhă					greed
गीत	gită					gyd, A. S.*
घषति	ghăshăti					gusheth
घ्रष्ट †	ghrăshtă					grist
चलायति	chălāyăti					syls, Scot. ‡
चाट	chātă					cheat
चूर्णयति §	churnāyăti					churneth
छलयति	chălăyăti					sylath, A. S. ‖
जलुका	jălukā					gell, Scot. **
जुषति	jushăti					re-joiceth
झंपति	jhămpăti					jumpeth
तत्	tăt					that
तरू	tăru					tree
तसति	tăsăti					tosseth
तुस्तं	tustăm					dust
तोरति	toı ăti					teareth, tore
दांत	dāntă					daunted
दीयति ⸸	diyăti					dieth
द्रभति	drăbhăti					drubbeth
धीर	dhiră					deir, Scot. ‡‡
ध्यात	dhiătă					thought
नयति	năyăti					nigheth
पुंडति	pundăti					poundeth
पुट	pută					pot
पुशति	pushăti					pusheth

* A song. † Grinded. ‡ Strains. § Grinds, pounds.
‖ Deceives. ** A leech. ⸸ Decayeth, wasteth. ‡‡ Bold.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
पेसति	pesăti					paceth
प्रिय	priyă					fria, A. S. *
प्रियंतं	priyăntăm					freond, A. S. †
प्रौढ	prăudă					proud
फलति	phălăti					felleth
फेन	phenă					fæm, A. S. ‡
भिक्षति	bhikshăti					beggeth
भितं	bhittăm					bit
मदति	mădăti					maddeth
मरणं	mărănăm					murrain
मशुन	măshună					messan, Scot. §
महिला	măhilā					meowla, A. S. ‖
माल	mālă					male
मृद्	mrid					mud
मेथति	măthăti					mateth
यात	yātă					yode
युद्ध	yuddhă					guthe, A. S. **
युयं	yuyăm					you
रणति	rănăti					runneth
रुधिर	rudhiră					rodra, Icelan. ††
रोदः	rodăh					rodera, A. S. ‡‡
लवन	lăwănă					leven
लोक	lokă					look
वटति	wătăti					withath, A. S. §§
वध	wădhă					beadu, A. S. ‖‖
वनं ⊦	wănăm					won

* Affection. † Loving, a friend. ‡ Foam. § A dog.
‖ A woman. ** Battle, war. †† Blood. ‡‡ The sky.
§§ Joins. ‖‖ Conceals. ⊦ An abode.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
वयं	wăĭăm					we
वरति	wărăti					wriath, A. S. *
वश	wăshă					wish
वसति	wăsăti					was
वस्कति	wăskăti					whisketh
वाढ	wārhă					very
वान †	wānă					wan
वारयति	wārăyăti					warath, A. S. ‡
वीदा	widā					widda
वुंधयति	wundăyăti					woundeth
वृक	wrikă					wargr, Iceland. §
वृक्ण	wriknă					broken
व्याध	wiādhă					veidi, Iceland. ‖
शंदति	shăndăti					shendeth
शकल	shăkălă					scale of a fish
शर	shără					gar, A. S. **
शलन ††	shălănă					shieling, Scot.
शलित ‡‡	shălită					shield
शलितृ §§	shălitră					shelter
शीलित	shilită					skilled
शोठति	shotăti					shutteth
सत्य	săty ă					sathr, Iceland. ‖‖
सद	săd					sad
सम	săma					same
सर	săra					siar, Iceland. ǂ
सूप	supă					soup

* Guards. † Dried, withered. ‡ Learning. § Wolf.
‖ Hunting. ** Arrow. †† Covering. ‡‡ Covered.
§§ Coverer. ‖‖ Truth. ǂ A lake.

Sanscrit.		Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
सेलति	selăti					saileth
सेवक	sewăkă					sack
स्तिम्यति	stimiăti					steameth
स्तेम	stemă					steam
स्तोभति	stobhăti					stoppeth
स्नायु	snāyu					sinew
स्वप्न	swăpnă					sweven
स्वर्ग	swărgă					suurg, A. S. *
स्वरति	swărăti					sorroweth
स्वेदति	swedăti					sweateth
स्वैर	swăiră					sweir, Scot. †
हयति	hăyăti					hieth
हरति	hărăti					harryeth
हिक्का	hikkā					hiccough
हुत	hută					hight. A. S. hæt
ह्वयति	hwăyăti					vieth

* Heaven.

† Self-willed.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LIST OF SANSCRIT, PERSIAN, AND ARABIC WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE ZEND VOCABULARY OF ANQUETIL DU PERRON.

Zend.	Sanscrit.		Persian.	Arabic.	French.
edi	यदि	yadi			si
edenanm	अधुना	adhunā			maintenant
erthehe	अर्थ	artha			explication
ezaède				زاد zada	il devient grand
este	अस्ति	asti	است ast		il est
astem	अस्थि	asthi			un os
aspo	अश्व	ashwa	اسپ asp		cheval
ashte	अष्ट	ashta	هشت hasht		huit
ashtengom	अष्टकोण	ashtakona			huit angles
aschtesh			اشتي ashti		la paix
eghe	अघं	agham			méchanceté
emeshe			همیشه hamishah		toujours
ehmakem	अस्माकं	asmākam			de nous
ehobie			خوب khub		bon
eetee	यते	yate			eux
eokhte	वक्ति	wakti			il dit
eoschtre	ओष्ट	oshta			lèvre
eantere	अंतर	antara	اندر ander		dedans

Zend.	Sanscrit.		Persian.	Arabic.	French.
baksched			بخشد bakhshed		il donne libéralement
bereete	भरति	bharati	برد barad		il porte
beshe			بيش besh		santé (bonne)
beodo	बद्ध	baddha			jointure (liée)
beouad	भवति	bhawati	بود bud		il est
bienghe	भीम	bhima	بيم bim		crainte
bonen			بن bun		racine
bumie	भूमि	bhumi	بوم bum		la terre
ted	तदा	tadā			maintenant
tedjerim				تجرّي tajarri	courant
terestche	त्रस्यति	trasyati	ترسد tarsad		il craint
tesched			تازد tazad		il s'applique
tenom	तनु	tanu	تن tan		corps
teschro	तिस्र	tisra			trois
djeoueeto	जीवति	jiwati	زيد ziad		il vit
djefre			زفر zafar		bouche
djened			زند zanad		il frappe
khenghe	कन्या	kanya			fille
khresio			خروس kharus		coq
kschefe	क्षपा	kshapā	شب shab		nuit
kscheeo			شاه shah		roi
kschecto			شيد shid		brillant
kschethro	क्षत्र	kshatra			roi
kschtsum	षष्ट	shashtam			sixième
kschnota			خوشنود khushnud		agréable
kschovesch			شش shash		six
khore			خورد khorad		il mange

Zend.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
dedaete	ददाति dadāti			il donne
dakhmo		دخم dakhm		cimetière
dereto	दरति darati	دارد darad		il a
desmehe	दशम dashama			dixième
descheno	दक्षिण dakshina			la main droite
deschte		دست dast		main
dentano	दंत danta	دندانها dandanha		les dents
deosche	दोषा doshā	دوش dosh		épaule
dkeescho		کیش kish		loi
dradjo		دراز diraz		étendu
doseh	दोष dosh			le mal
doue	द्वि dwi	دو do		deux
douetche		دوازده duazdah		douze
dad		داد dad		il donna
reotchingem	रोचनं rochanam	روشن roshan		lumière
rane		ران ran		cuisse
zeescho		زشت zasht		mauvais
zemo		زمین zamin		terre
zenghe	जंघा jangā			jambe
zaresetche		زهره zahrah		fiel
zaouere		زور zur		force
sedid			شدید shadid	dur
stree	स्त्री stri			femelle
staranam		ستارا sitara		étoile
sreono		سرون sarun		carne
sreoni		سرین surin		la fesse
sreoued		سرود surud		il chante

Zend.	Sanscrit.		Persian.	Arabic.	French.
snaouere			سینهٔ بر sinah ber		jusques à la poitrine
se			سه sih		trois
scheeto			شاد shad		heureux
schtoete	स्तुते	stute			il loue
schodem			سود sud		profit
frezdaneom			فرزندان firzandan		enfans
freeschte			فهرست fihrist		table des matières
foehtane			پستان pistan		mamelle
fedre	पितृ	pitri	پدر pidar		père
kerete	करोति	karoti			il fait
kestched	कश्चित्	kashchit			quelqu'un
keie	कः	kah	که kah		qui
krschtee	कृष्ट	krishta	کشته kashtah		(champ) labouré
ganm				غنم ghanam	bétail
gueosch			گوش gosh		oreille
gueete			گیتي giti		le monde
gueoue	गौ	gau	گاو gav		boeuf
guerende			گرندهٔ girandah		pleurant
guerevned			گرفت girift		il prit
gaem	गमः	gamah	گام gam		pas
maksche	मक्षिका	makshikā	مگس magas		mouche
mediehe			مادهٔ madah		femelle
medo	मधु	madhu			vin
merete	मर्त्य	martya	مرد mard		homme
manm			من man		je
menthre	मंत्र	mantra			parole
meete	मायति	māyati			il mesure

Zend.	Sanscrit.		Persian.	Arabic.	French.
meschte	मुष्टि	mushti	مشت musht		poing
mejdem			مزد muzd.		récompense
ma	मा	mā			non
mate	मातृ	mātri	مادر madar		mère
mae	महा	mahā	مه mah		grand
nereseh	नर	nara	نر nar		un homme
neomehe	नवम	navama	نهم naham		neuvième
neemen			نیم nim		moitié
naere	नारी	nāri			une femme
nafo	नाभि	nabhi	ناف naf		nombril
vareete			بارد barad		il pleut
vedoue	विद्वान्	vidvān			un savant
verekehe				ورق wark	feuille
vastre	वस्त्र	vastra			habit
veso	वश	vasha			désir
vefro			برف barf		neige
veheschtem			بهشت bihisht		paradis
vetchao	वाच	vācha			parole
veedem	विदा	vidā			savoir
veened			بیند binad		il voit
vispe	विश्व	vishva			tout
vatem	वात	vāta	باد bad		vent
vo	वः	vah			vous
veherkehe	वृक	vrika			loup
heksched			خیزد khizad		il se lève
hede	अथ	atha			à présent
hapte	सप्तन्	saptan	هفت haft		sept

Zend.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
hathre		هزار hazar		mille
houere		خور khur		soleil
iekere		جگر jigar		foie
ioe		او O		il
ioushmakem	युष्माकं yushmākam			de vous
iotomeante		جادومان jaduman		magicien
tchetro	चतुर् chatur	چهار chahar		quatre
petesh	पति pati			chef
peresne	पार्श्व pārswa			côte
pesouo	पशु pasu			quadrupède
peoerim	परम parama			premier
peo	पय paya			lait
peantche dese	पंचदश panchadasha	پانزده panzdah		quinze
pethni	पत्नी patni			femme (épouse)
petho	पथ patha			chemin
pschie			شي shai	quelque chose
pothre	पुत्र putra			fils
pansenoseh	पांशु pāmsu			poussière
paeri	परि pari			autour
pade	पद् pada			pied
onem	उन्नं unnam			moiteur
oroue			ارواح arwah	âmes
opero	उपर upara	ابر aber		dessus
opem	अप ap	اب ab		eau
othe	याति yāti			il va
thri	त्री tri			trois
seté	शत shāta	سد sad		cent

No. II.

LIST OF PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE PAHLVI VOCABULARY OF ANQUETIL DU PERRON.

Pahlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
ena	این in		ce
ab		اب ab	père
abider	پدر pider		père
am		امّ umm	mère
amider	مادر madar		mère
amna *		حمر hamru	ane
avvela		اوّل avval	premier
ann	آن an		cela
azdeman	اژدها azhdaha		serpent
asobar	اسوار asvar		cavalier
aslobar	استوار astuver		fort
astoban	استوخوان astukhan		os
asder		اسد asad	lion
arta		ارض ardu	terre
arboudjina	خربزه kharbuzah		melon
anboman		عنب anab	raisin
aporna	بُرنا bûrna		jeune personne
avam	وام vam		prêt
bena		بنا bina	avec (avec nous)
bonteman		بنت bint	fille
bita		بیت bait	maison
beba		باب báb	porte

* In the Firhang Jihangiri, *amra*.

Pahlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
bazanne	زانو zánu		genou
bonai	بانو bánu		femme (princesse)
balog	پلنگ palang		léopard
penadj	پهنا pahna		étendu
tina		طين tinu	boue
topah		تفاح tafah	pomme
toum		تمّ tamm	entièr
tora		ثور thaur	taureau
tiba		ظبي daba	cerf
toun	تن tan		corps
tin		تين tin	figue
taba		ذهب dahabu	or
djetta		جلد jild	peau
djak		ذاك zaka	celui-là (il)
djanver	جاوار janvar		qui jouit de la vie
hamih	همه hemah		toujours (tout)
hater		حاضر hader	présent
hia		حيه haiah	serpent
hamin		حمي hami	chaud
hobesia		حبس habs	prison (emprisonné)
dibe		ذيب debu	loup
damia		دمّ dammu	sang
daman		زمان zaman	tems
dobal	دوال daval		couroie
dakia		زكي zaki	pur
ras	راه rah		chemin
remona		رمّان ramman	grenade
rej	راز raz		raisin
raba		ربّ rabb	grand
takar		ذكر zakar	mâle
sareh		شرّ sharru	méchant
sakina		سكين sikkin	couteau
schmaha		سما sama	le ciel
schemsia		شم shamu	soleil
schoka		سوق suk	marché
schedjrai		شجر shajru	arbre
schaptina		شفت shafat	lèvre

Pahlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
scharita		شریت shariat	ordre (loi)
schenat		سنت sanot	année
schabha	شب shab		nocturne (nuit)
kamria		قمر kamru	lune
kokba		کوکب kaukab	astre
kadba		کذب kadbu	mensonge
keta		کتاب kitab	livre
kof		قاف kaf	montagne (nom d'une montagne)
kand	کند kunad		il fait
kalba		کلب kalb	chien
kasra		قصر kasr	étage (palais)
gandjober	گنجاور ganjavar		trésorier
lelia		لیله laila	nuit
lesan		لسان lisan	langue
la		لا la	non
metera		مطر matar	pluie
mia		ما ma	eau
malkonta		ملکوت malkut	royauté
malka		ملک malku	roi
mazdobar	مزدور mazdur		porte-faix
malahi		ملح milhu	sel
men		من min	de
medina		مدینه madinah	ville
mazina		میزان mizan	balance
nera		نیر nairu	feu
neka	نگاه nigah		vue
nemra		نمر namru	tigre (léopard)
varta		ورد vardu	fleur
jedeman	یدِ من yad i man	ید yad	main (ma main)

IN THE FOLLOWING LIST EXTRACTED FROM THE FIRHANG JIHANGIRI.

Pahlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	French.
aasim		اعظم aasim	élève
aahi	اهو ahu		cerf
arshik	رشک rishk		envie
andajah	اندیشه andishah		pensée
darun	دران dar an		dedans
dir	دیر dir		loin
kalub	کالبد kalbud		corps
kata		خطا khatu	lettre missive
kamikht	امیخت amikht		mêlé
mad	مادر madar		mère
roj	روز roz		jour

No. III.

LIST OF PAHLVI WORDS WHICH ARE NOT CONTAINED IN THE VOCABULARY OF ANQUETIL DU PERRON, EXTRACTED FROM THE FOURTH SECTION OF THE APPENDIX TO THE FIRHANG JIHANGIRI.

Aasim, exalted.
Aafaringan, one of the nusks of the Zend.
Aahi, a deer.
Aayishm, moonshine.
Aradush, a particular sin of a heinous nature.
Arshik, envy.
Urmud, a pear.
Uraur, plants, vegetables.
Arvis, a tablet of stone.
Azarik, male.
Asud, abstinent, virtuous.
Ashtau, haste, speed.
Ashu, paradise.
Agirift, a particular sin.
Alka, the earth.
An, a mother.
Antúnitam, to have.
Andajah, thought.
Angapir, a grape.
Udurdun, to die.
Uzayish, increase.
Avizah, sincere, pure.
Ayardah, the commentary of the Zend.
Irikan, men.
Iri, a man.
Bazra, seed.
Bazindar, a lattice.
Paptaras, a retribution for evil.
Patimar, haste, speed.
Pala, calling out, noise.
Ped, a father.
Pasanitam, to throw, to scatter.
Pasta, perseverance.
Pus, a son.
Pakú, a priest.
Pag, a date tree.
Pagvi, a priest.
Panam, the cloth placed over the mouth when reading the Zend.
Panik, a prune.
Popishmin, a helmet.
Puzhdas, pure.
Paitia, a message.
Tarsustudan, the reading of the Vandidad, in order to allow the spirit of the dead to quit the neighbourhood of the body.
Tarmunishn, wickedness.
Tuma, garlic.
Jazango, an attendant on the Pyræa.
Jatrah, polluted, stained.
Jaja, an eagle.
Juchin, a tumour.
Jih, a prostitute.
Jahishn, nature, quality.
Jihmarz, a frequenter of prostitutes.
Chichist, a mountain.
Kharah, a woman.
Khurih, light.
Danaminukhird, one of the nusks of the Zend.
Durun, a particular prayer.

Darun, within, in.
Das, that.
Dushvargar, mountainous.
Daknia, a date tree.
Dimin, I.
Doprub, evil.
Dah, Dahyupid, } particles of negation.
Dir, distant.
Daima, splendour, light.
Dina, a judicial decision.
Rawka, laying.
Roj, a day.
Zofak, a raining cloud.
Zika, a mother.
Satina, a lip.
Sapitaminu, God.
Sanhana, the world.
Siratir, an arrow.
Sazda, a culprit.
Sahistan, to fear.
Sia, the breast.
Shaigan, ample.
Shatán, a year.
Shatmin, a seat, a carpet to sit on.
Shanunitan, to write.
Kalu, kalub, the body.
Kata, a letter.
Kamtaran, a pear.
Karik, a hen.
Kamikht, mixed.
Kozbarta, coriander seed.
Kahist, a stone.
Gabmin, the skin.
Gabka, grass.
Gumashun, they.
Guna, a lamb.
Mád, a mother.
Mazdistan, pure, free from sin.
Mákir, the day after to-morrow.
Mádmunitan, to fear.
Marguziran, a capital crime.
Mizhu, a kind of grain.
Mastah, force, violence.
Mug, a date tree.
Manash, the heart, the mind.
Mahist, weighty.
Niushad, he learns, he teaches.
Vadyah, useless, trifling.
Vazhah, a word.
Vicharishan, to lessen.
Var, the breast.
Varzanitan, to go.
Vishadan, to open.
Hadukht, one of the nusks of the Zend.
Hák, an egg.
Havush, kindred.
Havin, the first Gah.
Hatan, to give.
Hajim, I give.
Hajid, he gives.
Hubasim, a tooth.
Husrub, good, distinguished.
Hib, end.

THE END.

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